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ABSTRACT

Reports on three surveys of Australian Aboriginal language use, undertaken to determine the language groups' needs for translation and literacy projects, are presented. "Communicability of Some Western Desert Communilects" by K. C. Hansen evaluates mutual intelligibility between languages and dialects in that region, and addresses the complicating factor of bilingualism: how much of the intelligibility is due to linguistic similarity and how much to contact between language groups. "Report on Survey of the Central Northern Territory" by David Glasgow describes a more general linguistic survey to determine the locations and numbers of speakers of several language groups and to answer some preliminary questions about language usage. "Observations on Language Change at Hope Vale" by Noreen Pym reports on a sociolinguistic survey that looked at a single community and addressed questions of language usage: who speaks what, to whom, and in what circumstances, and how people feel about their traditional languages. (MSE)

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Series B Volume 11

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Editors: J. Hudson and N. Pym

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PREFACE

These Work Papers are being produced in two series by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, Inc. in order to make results of SIL research in Australia more widely available. Series A includes technical papers on linguistic or anthropological analysis and description, or on literacy research. Series B contains material suitable for a broader audience, including the lay audience for which it is often designed, such as language learning lessons and dictionaries.

Both series include both reports on current research and on past research projects. Some papers by other than SIL members are included, although most are by SIL field workers. The majority of material concerns linguistic matters, although related fields such as anthropology and education are also included.

Because of the preliminary nature of most of the material to appear in the Work Papers, these volumes are circulated on a limited basis. It is hoped that their contents will prove of interest to those concerned with linguistics in Australia, and that comment on their contents will be forthcoming from the readers. Papers should not be reproduced without the authors' consent, nor cited without due reference to their preliminary status.

Views expressed by the authors are not necessarily those of SIL.

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INTRODUCTION TO
SERIES B VOLUME 11

In order to determine the needs of various language groups for translation and literacy projects, it is necessary for the Summer Institute of Linguistics to carry out various types of language surveys. The three surveys reported on in this volume represent a wide spectrum of survey types.

The Western Desert Survey was an attempt to evaluate mutual or inherent intelligibility between languages or dialects spoken in the Western Desert region of Australia. That is, it was trying to answer the question of 'how well can speakers of language A understand language B because of linguistic similarity?' One complicating factor in such a survey is the question of bilingualism. How much of the intelligibility is due to linguistic similarity, and how much is due to contact between the language groups?

The Northern Territory Survey was a more general survey. It was an attempt to determine the locations and numbers of speakers of several language groups. In addition, the surveyor tried to answer some preliminary questions of language usage.

The Hopevale Survey was more of a sociolinguistic survey. It looked at a single community and tried to come to grips with the questions of language attitudes and usage: who speaks what, to whom, and in what circumstances? How do people feel about their traditional language?

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COMMUNICABILITY OF SOME WESTERN DESERT COMMUNILECTS

K.C. Hansen

0. INTRODUCTION

'Pintupi here, Kukatja at Balgo and Yulparitja at La Grange are all the one language.' Over the years at Papunya similar remarks have been made by Aborigines indicating their feelings of a unity in the above mentioned Western Desert dialects. On the other hand the difference between these same dialects has been emphasised by other Aborigines with remarks like this, 'That Yulparitja is a different language, not like Pintupi.' Herein lies the problem: How can we measure the differences and similarities among these Western Desert dialects? When conversing with Aborigines from a distant Western Desert dialect, how much do they adjust their speech to accommodate the newcomer? Is the speech they use with the outsider the same as that used by all members of their communities?

In 1978, after learning of the mutual intelligibility testing material from Mexico, James Marsh and I resolved to survey the following Western Desert dialects for degree of communication; Mantjiltjarra, Martu

Wangka, Yulparitja, Wangkatjungka, Kukatja, Pintupi and Ngaatjatjarra. Because of other pressing work and the lack of readily available testing materials, we did not commence survey at that time. In 1980 the Summer Institute of Linguistics asked James Marsh and me to plan for a survey later that year. Marsh has been involved in a linguistic programme at Jigalong, Western Australia since 1967. Independently, Marsh and I collected texts in Martu Wangka and Pintupi respectively for communicability testing and I commenced the development of the synonym range and grammatical form range test. We carried out the survey in July and August 1980. We visited the following communities: Wiluna, Jigalong, La Grange, Fitzroy Crossing, Christmas Creek and Balgo Hills in W.A. During September 1980 I did further testing at Papunya and Giles. During 1981 I analysed and interpreted the data as presented in this paper.

O'Grady and Voegelin (1966, p. 138) have classified all of the dialects we were interested in comparing, except Wangkatjungka and Ngaatjatjarra, as belonging to the one 'Family-like language' i.e. Pama-Nyungan Family, Wati Subgroup. This linguistic classification made on the basis of lexical similarity gave us little help in determining communicability between the dialects. It was apparent that lexicostatistics would be of little help in measuring communication between dialects since grammatical forms needed comparing as well as vocabulary items. (Dixon 1972, pp. 20-21).

Having worked with these languages for some years, I was acutely aware of the frequent vocabulary changes which occur in the event of death. (Words which sound similar to the name of the dead person cease to be used and vocabulary items from another dialect are borrowed to replace them.) Because of this and the large number of synonyms in use in each dialect, it was evident that a different approach was necessary to measure communication.

In the early 1970's a dialect communication measuring method was developed in Mexico (Mutual Intelligibility Testing [Casad, 1972]) based on grading the answers given to content questions which were asked about stories from other dialects. An adaptation of this method was used as part of this present survey. The other part of this survey, using synonym and grammatical range lists, was developed by myself. Details of these materials are included in 2.2.3 and 2.2.4.

This communicability survey applies only to north Western Desert dialects. It should be noted that although vocabulary and grammatical forms from Pitjantjatjarra at Ernabella and Ngaanyatjarra at Warburton Ranges occur in some of the lists in this paper, these are included only for comparative purposes. The conclusions and comments expressed in this paper do not apply to those two Western Desert dialects. Data from only one person at each of those two centres is included in some lists and cannot be considered in the same light as data from the aforementioned centres, where up to twelve people contributed. It is hoped that a similar survey will sometime be conducted in southern dialects including those at Warburton, Cundelee, Ernabella etc.

The writer acknowledges cooperation and help in conducting the survey and gaining relevant information from the following: at Wiluna: Paul Morgan Ngalama, Jackson Stevens Yarlukayi, Jeffrey Tjarurru, Robert Wood Rapal, Bob Robertson, Willie Ward Tartany, Benny Nyamanya, Sheila Yaka Jones, John Williams, Willy Williams, George Finch and Dave Shay; at Jigalong: Sambo Sampson Nyarnkapirti, Socks Lanti, Ngayiji, Piija Tinker, Billy Atkins Yangkurany and Teddy Etiwaru; at La Grange: Father McKelson, Lillian Nitukurna, Jimmy Muku Purungu, Roonie Butt, Sally Wajartu, Nyiwilyjikutupa Jarurru, Long Nyatuwi, Kim Nixon Yiiji, Jimmy Wilirrja, Wipa, Winnie Nartata, Jimmy Pangku and Tommy Pangku; at Fitzroy Crossing: Stumpy Niju, Jack Jinakarli, Spider Snell Ngalyangu, Nyangani, Jimmy Katapa, Nata Rowland, Willy Kew Luurnpa and Biddy; at Christmas Creek: Tiger Ngamija, Jimmy James Yayi, Peter Kurriji, Bluey Thomas Yukuti, George Pink Kingu, Blind billy Muputati, George Tuckerba, Mary Ann Pulta, Missy Thomas Majija, Benny Walkutu Tukula and Nawi; at Balgo Hills: Charlie Tjungarrayi, Ngangayari Tjamputjin, Toobilly Pakupaku, Arther Tjapanangka, Nguntyja, Denny Campbell, Alan Winturu, Johnny Yimaru, Micky Nyuwunytju, John Lee, Freddy Nginpirri, George Wimitji, Father Anthony Piele and Father Hevern; at Papunya: Fred West Tjakamarra, Ngitjita Tjungarrayi, Nolan Tjapangati, Charlie Tjungurrayi, John Heffernan, Rev. M. Stollznow, Murphey Tjupurrula, Yariyari Tjampitjinpa and Johnny Angus Tjupurrula; at Giles: Mitchell Milangka, Herbert and Loraine Howell, Hilary Giles, Peter Mitchell, Milly Yates, Jacky Giles and Johnson Bennett; at Ernabella: Anmanari and Paul Eckert; at Warburton Ranges: Paul Simms. Other information was given by Rev. E. Kingston at Yuendumu and Rev. T. Fleming at Alice Springs. Mr. J.P.M. Long, Canberra, provided copies of his maps of Pintupi country and gave other much appreciated information which helped to form opinions expressed in this paper.

1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNILECTS

1.1 NOMADIC LOCAL GROUPS

It is difficult to obtain a completely accurate picture of the nomadic lifestyle of Aborigines living in the Gibson and Great Sandy desert areas prior to European contact without a full scale investigation being carried out at centres around the perimeter of the aforementioned area. Nevertheless, we have been able to get some idea of the size and activity of local groups from among the Pintupi before they went to live at Papunya (Peterson 1976). These observations were made on a number of journeys from 1957 to 1966, when Mr. J.P.M. Long and others visited 'Pintupi country'. I quote from Mr. Long's article 'Arid Region Aborigines. The Pintupi.'

> The former inhabitants of the area explored on these journeys have conveniently been referred to as Pintubi (Pintupi) or Bindibu. The evidence suggests that at least three distinct dialects of what has been labelled the Western Desert language were spoken in this area, and that the inhabitants distinguished at least as many regional groups of people within the area.
>
> By 1957 the evacuation of the area was well advanced. People had moved north to the Balgo Hills mission, southwest to the Warburton Range mission and east to Haasts Bluff settlement. The people remaining in the desert were separated from their relatives, who had gone on to Haasts Bluff, by an uninhabited area about 250 km wide of which they knew little, and they knew nothing of the fate of those who had left. At least one or two of the men living in the extreme west of the area, not far from Carnegie's Family Well. . . had visited wells on the Canning Stock Route and one of these men had certainly been with parties which killed cattle on or near the stock route. At least one man in the desert had visited the Warburton Range mission and others had visited the Giles Meteorological Station. Some of those who remained in the desert in 1957 had travelled some of the distance with parties walking towards Balgo Hills and Haasts Bluff. Some living in the Lake Mackay area in 1957 had made journeys to the edge of the occupied pastoral country (Mount Doreen Station). In 1957 there were groups living farther to the south and west, but depopulation had certainly reduced the range and frequency of their social contacts.
>
> ### Size and Composition of Groups
>
> Groups have been met with which ranged in size from two people (a man and a boy) to twenty-two, the term "group" being here used to mean a number of people camping overnight at a single waterhole. The group of twenty-two was found at a claypan west of Lake Mckay in 1957 shortly after heavy rain. It consisted of three men, their wives and children and three single women (widows), and a group of three single males was reported to be camped some kilometres away to the west.
>
> Generally, however, groups have consisted of one or two families, often with one or more adolescent males and/or

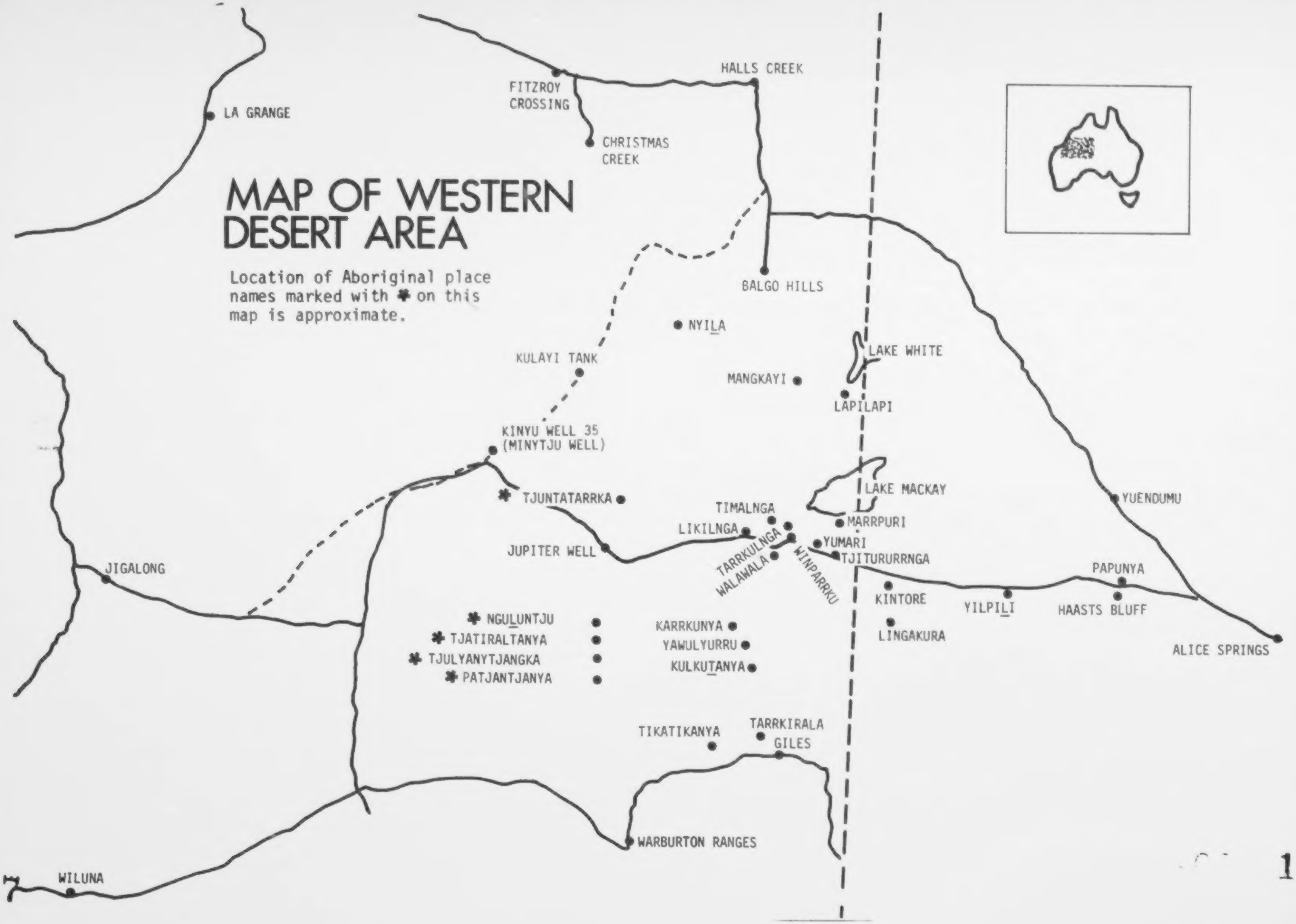
> elderly or widowed females. Such 'family groups' ranged in size from three to twelve people. The period 1957-64 was one of generally average or below average rainfall but, since good seasons are the exception and drought the rule, it is safe to assume that the people of this area lived in scattered groups of this size for most of the time. . .
>
> It seems that one can think in terms of loose "associations" of families, which commonly foraged independently but often within a day's march of each other, and some or all of which came together at a single camp from time to time. Operating from separate but relatively close waterholes the individual families would be aware of each other's presence and movements by observing hunting and camp fire smokes as well as by occasional meetings. The families and single males of such associations might have come together not only after rain, but in the hot dry summer months, when it seems that groups may have tended to congregate at the more reliable wells (*inta* or *tjila*), where there might be good shade as well as water. After rain, when both water and food were relatively abundant, member groups of more than one association might foregather for ceremonies. (Long p. 265)

To add to the above insights, I have questioned at length four Pintupi men regarding their travels and associates in the desert prior to European contact. Details of these personal histories show the flexibility in number and composition of the local group. A local group may have occupied its own territory for some periods of time, but it is evident that they also foraged in other areas. All the male owners of a series of water places did associate with each other from time to time, but were often separated from each other in different local groups. It is evident also that many people spent a great deal of time away from their own country and the local groups in that area. This, of course, had far-reaching implications on the language used by transients who had shared life with many local groups in many localities. The four men to whom I am indebted for so much historical information are Billy Nolan Tjapangati, Ngitjita Tjungurrayi, Fred West Tjakamarra, and Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi.

Billy Nolan Tjapangati of Papunya was born at *Tarrkirala* which is close to the Walter James Range. In his period of time in the bush before finally settling at Haasts Bluff, he travelled 400 km to the north to *Mangkayi* (Stansmore range) and *Lapilapi* (near Lake Hazlett). The east-west range of his travel was from *Tjitururrnga* (Buck Hills) near the W.A./N.T. border to *Walawala* (Pollock Hills). Relevant places are shown on the map included in this section.

MAP OF WESTERN DESERT AREA

Location of Aboriginal place names marked with ✱ on this map is approximate.


HALLS CREEK
FITZROY CROSSING
LA GRANGE
CHRISTMAS CREEK
BALGO HILLS
NYILA
LAKE WHITE
KULAYI TANK
MANGKAYI
LAPILAPI
KINYU WELL 35 (MINYTJU WELL)
✱ TJUNTATARRKA
LAKE MACKAY
YUENDUMU
TIMALNGA
MARRPURI
LIKILNGA
YUMARI
JUPITER WELL
TARRKULNGA
WINPARRKU
TJITURURRNGA
WALAWALA
JIGALONG
PAPUNYA
KINTORE
YILPILI
HAASTS BLUFF
✱ NGULUNTJU
✱ TJATIRALTANYA
✱ TJULYANYTJANGKA
✱ PATJANTJANYA
KARRKUNYA
YAWULYURRU
KULKUTANYA
LINGAKURA
ALICE SPRINGS
TIKATIKANYA
TARRKIRALA
GILES
WARBURTON RANGES
WILUNA

Ngitjita Tjungurrayi was born at *Patjantjanya* (south of Hickey Hills) and travelled from *Tikatikanya* (near Van Der Linden lakes) in the south as far north as *Marrpuri* (north of Dover Hills), 280 km. His east-west traverse was 320 km, from *Lingakura* (Davenport Hills) to west of *Karrkunya* (near Dowling Hills).

Fred West Tjakamarra was born at *Tjulyanytjangka* (near Dowling Hills) and travelled north with different local groups 720 km to *Nyila* (near French Hills). His east-west traverse was from *Tjitururrnga* (Buck Hills) 400 km west to the Canning Stock Route, *Kinyu* (Well no. 35).

Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi was born at *Tjatiraltanya* (west of Baron Range). He travelled as far south as Giles and as far north as *Tarrkulnga* (north of Angus Hills), a distance of 320 km. His east-west traverse was from *Tjitururrnga* (Buck Hills) 320 km west to *Puntutjarrpa* (Jupiter Well) and beyond.

This travelling of individuals and nuclear families seemed to be more the rule than the exception. However, it seems the greatest distances were covered by older boys and single men. All this travel meant that such people became very much aware of the linguistic differences of local groups and collections of local groups in many areas. Local groups would split up and move to far distant areas as participants of other local groups.

These local groups and collections of local groups, which in this paper I term multigroup, had minor speech variations and were often tagged with a name derived from such speech differences. The *Ngapi wangkatjarra* in the north were so called because they used *ngapi* instead of *ngaatja* for 'this'. *Ngapi wangkatjarra* means '(The people) with the talk/word *ngapi*'. Whilst such linguistic differences existed they were not considered as any barrier to communication or socialisation, as the differing speech forms only affected approximately 20% of their speech. 80% of their speech was common. There must have been scores of such multigroup dialect names over the whole Gibson and Sandy Desert area. The following are some that I have come across; *Kanti wangkatjarra*, *Patutatjarra*, *Pitjapitja*, *Winanpa*, *Purruku wangkatjarra*, *Wanantjarra*, *Kuwarratjarra*, *Ngaatjatjarra*, *Putitjarra*, *Tjiwalinytja*, *Ngulyu wangka*, *Mantjiltjarra*, *Kukatja kiya*, *Tjarrurungkatja Minurungkatja*, *Wangka tjukutjukutjarra*, *Wangka kuwarra* and *Kakarra wangka*.

No attempt to list all multigroup dialect terms has been made because of a further complicating factor. When eliciting some of the above terms it became evident there is a variation of dialect terms for the same multigroup, depending on which other multigroup member refers to them. Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi said the *Putitjarra* (in bush days living to the west of his multigroup) used to call them *Kakarra wangkatjarra* 'the ones with the eastern talk'. 'They called us two other names,' said Tjungurrayi, '*Wangka tjukutjukutjarra* "the ones using the talk/word *tjukutjuku*", and *Wangka Kuwarra* "the ones using the talk/word *kuwarra*".'

Fred West Tjakamarra, who was born in the same area as Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi and recognises him as being of the same country, said, 'The *Putitjarra* used to call us *Mantjiltjarra* which means, "The people with the talk/word *mantji*"'. Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi said again, 'The people to the south of us in the bush used to call us *Minurungkatja* and also *Kayilingkatja*'. He and Fred West Tjakamarra and their group, who are known as Pintupi at Papunya, used all of the above mentioned linguistic terms, i.e. *tjukutjuku*, *kuwarra*, *mantjila*, *minuru* and *kayili* in their pre-contact multigroup dialect. So their multigroup dialect was known by five terms, probably more. Such would have been the case for most multigroups resulting in a great number of distinguishing linguistic terms.

Normally there was a great deal of movement of members between local groups and multigroups. This would have meant that vocabulary and grammatical variations would become widely known. The practice of intermarriage with members of more distant multigroups also would have resulted in a great deal of synonym and grammatical variation.

After rain, local and multigroups would spread out having far wider contact with other multigroups in foraging and ceremonies. Vocabulary which had become taboo because of a death would be noted and consequent changes would take place in the language used by other multigroups closely related to the deceased person, as well as in the language of the deceased person's own multigroup. Adoption of new vocabulary from other multigroups would be a constantly occurring event. Word and idiom fashions would have changed the spoken language as much then as it does now at Papunya. As a result of this a variety of synonyms were used in the multigroups. In avoiding the pronunciation of a taboo term, members of a multigroup would borrow different synonyms from other multigroups, resulting in a couple of synonyms being used at any given time in any one multigroup.

All four Pintupi men from whom these histories were obtained indicated that two, three or four synonyms were used for each vocabulary item in the bush days. The origin of some of these synonyms was known, but not all. The men were able to give an explanation about certain words, e.g. 'This word was borrowed from the *Kanti wangkatjarra*, because of my uncle's death'. However the origin of other synonyms was not known, and they would only comment, 'All those words are our language'.

It would appear that in pre-contact days the desert dwelling Aborigines had no one name for all the multigroup varients used throughout a region, i.e. no multigrouplects were recognised. They did, however, recognise three levels of communicability: the close communication among members of their own multigroup, the distant communication with members of other multigroups whose speech was still mutually intelligible with theirs (known as 'relatives'), and the greater distant communication with other groups such as Aranda, Warlpiri, Tjiwaliny etc. where there were communication problems. They explained these as, 'Different languages, not our language.' They realised that their relatives married to Tjiwaliny people, or living in Tjiwaliny areas, had learned Tjiwaliny, i.e. were bilingual. Their own adjacent multigroups and others further afield were not described as different languages but 'our talk', 'one talk'.

The term Pintupi was not used as a regional language name in the bush. Many of the so called Pintupi only learned of it after meeting people from Papunya and other settlements for the first time. As a result of this, Pintupi territory must be defined only as the territory belonging to the various multigroups who were brought into Haast Bluff, Papunya and Yuendumu. It is probable that the Warlpiri first dubbed a multigroup to its west by the nickname 'Pintupi', because that group used the expletive '*pintupi*!' frequently, as many at Papunya still do today. Following this, as settlements were established, the term was taken up by Europeans, Warlpiri, Aranda and Pitjantjatjarra alike, to refer to anyone who came in from the Gibson and Sandy Desert area, to those respective settlements.

1.2 DISPERSION OF DESERT DWELLERS

In the 1930's Aboriginal people from the Gibson and Sandy desert areas began going to the various cattle stations, settlements and missions around the border of the desert.

Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi said that a group first went to Balgo Hills mission from his area, and then others to Jigalong and Haasts Bluff and Papunya. One would think that people living closest to Haasts Bluff would have gone there instead of Balgo and people living closer to Giles and Warburton would have gone to those closer centres. However there were a lot of exceptions to this. Many followed their closer relatives to the far distant settlements to try life along side the white man for a time and return again to other relatives in the central desert. Many have told us of numerous trips to settlements and back to the bush before finally staying on a settlement. Tjupurrula Johnny Angus (recognised as a Pintupi living at Papunya) said that he and his wife with others went from the *Tarrkulnga* area (near Pollock Hills) north to Balgo. After staying for a month at Balgo they returned and lived in the central desert again before going east to *Lapilapi* (near Lake

Hazlett). There they met some Warlpiri and Europeans in a group and went with them to Mt. Doreen, then to Yuendumu. Later they went to Papunya and stayed there. Because of conflicts and suspicion of others (who were suspected of causing, through sorcery, the death of a loved relative), many leaving the desert would know which settlements they wished to avoid. It is surprising how effectively news is remembered and passed on.

Ngitjita Tjungurrayi said that his aunt, Tuwilannga, went to Balgo from *Kul̲kut̲anya* (south of Baron Range) when she was only 240 km from Warburton Ranges and even closer to Giles. Others of Ngitjita's relatives went north to Balgo with Aborigines who came from Balgo with camels.

Also in the 1930's many were guided into Haasts Bluff by Aborigines who knew the water holes over the forbidding stretch between Sandy Blight Junction and Haasts Bluff. These were initially known as Luritja people, as well as by the other term, Pintupi. Then from 1957 to 1966 there was the final exodus from the Central Desert to Jigalong, La Grange, Christmas Creek, Balgo Mission, Yuendumu, Papunya and Giles. Although many local groups from one multigroup dialect area may have moved into one settlement together, because of the constraints of relationship and the avoidance of further conflict some local groups went to other settlements. Therefore each centre of population involved in this survey is made up of local groups from a variety of historical multigroups.

The four men previously mentioned from whom personal histories were taken, each said that people related to them went from their area to various missions and settlements. Some examples are given below. Tjapangat̲i Johnson went from *Kul̲kutanya* (south of Baron Range) to Giles; he is now known as a speaker of *Ngaatjatjarra*. *Kul̲kut̲anya* is considered to be Pintupi country. Tjapanangka Pat̲ut̲anya who is now living at Balgo Hills and known as a Kukatja speaker went from *Timalnga* (north of Pollock Hills). *Timalnga* is considered to be Pintupi country. When he lived there with Tjapangat̲i Nolan, he was recognised as speaking *Kan̲t̲i wangkatjarra*. Pakupaku Tjapaltjarri went from around *Yumari* to Balgo mission, where he is known as *Kukatja* speaker. *Yumari* is considered as Pintupi country. 'We used to live together around *Tjunta tarrka* (north of Jupiter Well) and from there Walpurru's relatives went to Balgo; and Tjayintjananya Tjampitjinpa, Tjulypa Tjampitjinpa, Kan̲t̲akan̲t̲a Tjampitjinpa/Tjakamarra went on to live at Christmas Creek. Those at Balgo are known as Kukatja speakers and those at Christmas Creek are known as Wangkatjungka. In the bush we used to call Kan̲t̲akan̲t̲a, a *Ngapi wangkatjarra* speaker.' *Tjunta tarrka* is considered to be Pintupi country.

Fred West Tjakamarra left *Minytju* well (Well no. 35 Canning Stock Route) to go north to Balgo. When almost to his destination he decided not to go in to Balgo and he returned south, eventually settling at Papunya after being at *Tjitururrnga* (Dovers Hills) for a time. Fred West also said the Jigalong people who were called *Ngaatjatjarra* speakers in the bush days own *Minytju* well. *Minytju* well is not considered Pintupi country, but Fred West who is considered Pintupi spent much time there.

Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi said, 'We lived together at *Karrkunya* (Baron Range) and Tjinatinkilykirra's mob went to Giles, i.e. *Tjakamarra Tampatampapulanya*, *Tjakamarra Pintipungkupanya* etc.' *Karrkunya* is considered as Pintupi country. He also said, 'Paul Morgan, now living at Wiluna and known there as a *Mantjiltjarra/ Putitjarra* speaker, used to live with us at *Ngulunytju*, *Yarrima* and *Wanpurrutitja* (north-west of Baron Range). He speaks *Putitjarra*.' Paul Morgan told us he was really 'a Pintupi' when we visited Wiluna. *Ngulunytju*, *Yarrima*, and *Wanpurrutitja* are all places which are considered to be in Pintupi country. Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi also said, 'Nyampulinya, my sister, is at Wiluna and my other sister is at Jigalong'.

Charlie Tjakamarra Kulpakarratja, who is known as a *Ngaatjatjarra/ Pintupi* speaker at Giles, lived at Papunya as a Pintupi for many years. He came from *Yawulyurru* (near Baron Range).

Although I have recorded just a few of those who moved from what has become known as 'Pintupi territory' to various settlements, there are many more. Also many from what is now known as '*Kukatja* territory' and '*Ngaatjatjarra* territory' moved into Haasts Bluff and Papunya to eventually be classified as Pintupi and Luritja.

The reasons that people have given for leaving their desert homes are many. However, the predominant reason seems to be the promise of continuing flour, tea and sugar. Early arrivals at the centres of European influence took samples of flour, tea and sugar out to their bush cousins. These in turn tried the new food and decided to go where more was available. Many resisted going even though they liked what they had tasted, as a great fear of the white man had grown up. They had heard news of shootings and poisoning of their relatives, and wanted to stay isolated. Added to this was the normal Aboriginal fear of spirits and other Aborigines in unknown areas. To go to a new area you normally moved through local groups who knew the territory, and with whom a trust was established.

In the late 1950's, however, the desert was becoming lonely because of the great exodus. Many felt forced to move into settlements to be with their relatives in spite of their fears. Following are a few quotes recounting the later days in the bush before coming into centres of European civilisation.

Ngitjita Tjungurrayi: 'Nosepeg and Watuma came and got us. The white man got those (earlier dispersed) Aborigines and then they went and got us. We had plenty of food and meat in the bush. They brought us in for tea and food (i.e. flour/damper).'

Fred West Tjakamarra: 'I came first to the white man here at Papunya. Jerry Long brought us. We came here for flour. . . Kantakanta Tjampitjinpa (now at Christmas Creek) and the rest of us used to go around water places together at *Nyila*, near French Hills. He speaks some *Ngapi wangka*. . . in the bush we all spoke one language. . . We and *Patuta* Tjapanangka (who is recognised as a *Kukatja* at Balgo) used to live together around *Tarrkulnga* (north of Angus Hills). . . He went to Yuendumu through *Lapilapi* (near Lake Hazlett). He is Pintupi. . . Yes, they call him *Kukatja* (at Balgo) that is their custom. . . We are all *Kukatja* (because we all use the word *Kuka*), we who belong to the sandhill plain country.'

Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi: 'No, they didn't call us Pintupi in the bush; they used to call us *wati Minurungkatja*. It was only here (at Papunya) that they called us Pintupi. When Mr. Long and the others came for us they called us Pintupi.' When the question was asked (by the author), 'Why did you come to Papunya?' (rather than another settlement) Cheekybugger explained, 'Our relatives came out and got us, we went in to be with them. Maybe the Jigalong mob or the Warburton mob might have gone out to get us. We waited in vain for someone to come to take us in to Jigalong or Warburton but no one came. We waited in vain for them, and finally some from here went and got us from Haasts Bluff.'

1.3 DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNILECTS ON SETTLEMENTS

Members of the different multigroups throughout the Gibson and Great Sandy deserts had apparently all moved more or less permanently to one settlement or another by 1966. (Settlement is defined here as any centre of European contact, i.e. cattle stations, Missions, and Government Settlements.) This meant that there were individuals and families from many multigroup dialects at each centre who all had one thing in common: they were the latest arrivals from the isolated central desert area. At these settlements they met up with Aborigines who had earlier come in from their own areas as well as others who spoke different languages. These settlement residents were far more experienced in the subtleties of getting along with Europeans. They had become part of the Establishment and preferred not to overtly associate with the later arrivals even though they were related. To set themselves apart they usually camped in separate areas. Nevertheless, when away from the eyes of the Europeans they shared ceremonial and social activities. Although not the situation on other settlements, at Haasts Bluff and Papunya the earlier arrivals and their offspring preferred to be known as Luritja and they called the later arrivals Pintupi. The Lutheran missionaries and Aranda pastors from Hermansburg and Haasts Bluff however, retaining the term from earlier days, continued to call the total group Pintupi. In a personal communication, Pastor Pech, who was at Haasts Bluff in the 1950's, told me that all Western Desert people at Haasts Bluff in those days were called Pintupi. He had not heard the term Luritja. At Balgo and other centres, no such dichotomy of linguistic terms for earlier and later arrivals now exists, although the segregation and elevated social status of the earlier arrivals over the later was recognisable when I first visited Balgo in the mid 1970's.

Because of centralising Government policy and the scarcity of settlements, a number of different language groups resided at each settlement, as well as the people from the central desert area. At Papunya and Haasts Bluff there were and still are speakers of Aranda, Anmatjera and Warlpiri. This mixture of language was a source of difficulty to the Europeans who did not consider there could be so many multigroup dialects and languages on each settlement.

I offer the following as a possible explanation of the development of tribal language names used today. Experiencing communication difficulties, the European with his desire to categorise people probably asked Aborigines who these new arrivals were. When given a multigroup dialect term such as Pintupi he would thereafter refer to that group with that term and only that term. Then he noticed that still more arriving from the Central desert area came and lived with that first group, rather than with any other group on the settlement. He naturally assumed that all of the subsequent arrivals who lived in the same general area were of the same language, as they seemed to have no difficulty communicating and preferred each other's company. As a result, there may have been six or more multigroup dialects represented in that camping region, but they all became known as Pintupi to Europeans and Aborigines alike. So the term Pintupi applied traditionally by one multigroup to another became a generic term covering speakers of many related Western Desert multigroup dialects. As mentioned, in the Papunya Haasts Bluff area the Lutheran pastors and missionaries applied the term Pintupi to all Western Desert speakers. Many of these later preferred to call themselves *Luritja* (an Aranda word meaning 'stranger' which was applied by the Aranda originally to Western Desert speakers living to the west of Hermansberg). The term *Luritja* also grew up to cover a variety of speech forms and is now applied to people in the following categories: older Western Desert people who arrived during the 1930's at Haasts Bluff; all their offspring who have virtually grown up at Haasts Bluff and Papunya; and people of the same generation who may be from Aranda, Warlpiri or Anmatjera background, but have lived many years in the Papunya area. To complicate matters many members of the first two groups above are today called Pintupi by other Aborigines in the community.

With a settlement like Balgo Mission the initial arrivals in the 1930's were called Kukatja, very likely using a multigroup dialect term. This term distinguished the earlier arrivals from the Warlpiri and Walmajarri. As that sector of the camp grew in size all its occupants became known as Kukatja. Today a great number of people who speak many multigroup dialects with influences from surrounding languages are contained in the term Kukatja. The following variations of speech are contained in the term Kukatja: desert dwellers who are now old people at Balgo speaking complicated Western Desert forms (among these would be representatives of at least six Western Desert multigroup dialects); the younger generation born on the settlement with a range of less complicated grammatical structures and more modern idioms; and those whose mother tongue was Walmajarri or Warlpiri but who now speak a Western desert dialect heavily laced with forms and pronounciations from their own mother tongues. All these speech variations are called Kukatja by Aborigines and Europeans alike. The same range of speech variations are at Papunya and I expect would be in each of the other communities surveyed. Plainly, Kukatja is used to refer to the speech of all people in the one community at Balgo, as Pintupi is used to refer to all at Papunya and Haasts Bluff communities, even though other language varieties may be involved.

It is evident that a choice of synonyms and grammatical variants is acceptable Kukatja, as the charts of material will illustrate in section 3. For convenience then, I will refer to the speech of a community as a *communilect*.

At each of the settlements which we visited a communilect term has been applied to the Western Desert speakers: Kukatja at Balgo; Pintupi or Luritja at Papunya (a broken English way of referring to this is 'Pintupi, Luritja mix up'); Ngaatjatjarra or Pintupi at Giles; Wangkatjungka at Christmas Creek and Fitzroy Crossing; Yulparitja at La Grange; Mantjiltjarra at Strelley and Wiluna; and Martu Wangka at Jigalong (also termed Mantjiltjarra).

1.4 LOCAL RESIDENCE AND COMMUNILECT CONCEPT

Aborigines of the Western Desert language count relationship as an important factor in their lives. Although blood relatives among the Pintupi are important, the people with whom one has lived for a period of time, sharing life's day by day experiences, are also counted as close relatives. This is reflected in the fact that they are addressed as *kuta* 'older brother' and *malanypa* 'younger brother', instead of the normal *watjirra* mbsd or mbsds, *tjamu* mmbss, *marutju* mmbds. Since living with another and sharing life and food in the same location has always been an important factor in unifying a group, this same factor has maintained its importance in the new settlement lifestyle. Therefore Western Desert speakers at any one settlement regard themselves as having a unique local identity in their relationship to other settlements. This is vocalised in the development and use of differing communilect terms on each settlement. Although these communilect terms are related to the language spoken, they also serve to identify a social group, i.e. the large group of people living together in a community. In the same way, multigroup dialect terms were a sociolinguistic means in pre-contact days of identifying a number of local groups of one area, and marking them off from another set of local groups belonging to another area. Just as these multigroup dialect terms did not imply a lack of mutual understanding in pre-contact days, so communilect terms should not be thought of as strict limits to communication between settlements.

Another factor helping to cement the use of communilect terms on each settlement is the relative lack of inter-settlement communication and visiting by Aborigines from the 1930's to 1960's. However, this has changed with the advent of award wages and social service payments. As a result of this regular income, more Aborigines have bought their own vehicles and have been able to travel to spend time with their long-lost relatives.

The recognition of communilects on settlements has implications for the linguist and education worker. Firstly, the linguist cannot expect to find 'pure Pintupi' or 'pure Kukatja'. Certainly an Aborigine can provide the linguist with one term for each elicited vocabulary item, and one grammatical form for each elicited grammatical function. When the linguist works with others of the same communilect, perhaps a younger person or a person from a different multigroup dialect, a profusion of synonyms and grammatical forms will be vouched for as 'proper speech'. In the same way educational or religious material produced using speech forms from only one multigroup may not be acceptable to all the speakers of the communilect. Methods of how to meet this problem will be discussed in section 6.

1.5 COMMUNILECTS AND IDIOLECTS

While 14 or 15 years ago it may have been an easy task for recently arrived central desert Aborigines to provide the linguist with vocabulary and grammatical forms in his multigroup's dialect, today it is a different story. Because of such things as language fashion, the effects of taboo, as well as the profusion of synonyms and grammatical forms in use, most Aborigines on any one settlement use a very much modified version of their original multigroup dialect. While people can often tell which synonyms are theirs, one will hear them using different synonyms in their everyday speech. They will also use different grammatical forms. There is evidence from Aboriginal-authored stories that the same speaker will use two different grammatical forms in one story. From the same person in conversation one can hear more than one grammatical form. In the same way different synonyms will be used in one conversation or story. There are some situations where the use of synonyms depends on the social status of the group to which the hearer belongs. Usually, however, the grammatical forms and synonyms used seem to depend more on the speech habits of the individual concerned, and such habits are most likely related to the speech of his/her peers and immediate family. I will refer to the individual's speech as an *idiolect*. This term is to be understood to refer to the speech of a person or small family group. Variation in speech between families may effect no more than 20% of their speech forms. The range of synonyms and grammatical forms is understood by each person. One hears the other speaker's idiolect and speaks one's own, usually without any problems of communication.

Although each of the communities surveyed contains many idiolect and family dialect variants in vocabulary and grammatical forms, it appears there are predominant synonyms and grammatical forms used in each community. This was determined by asking approximately ten people in the community for their spoken word for each item on the word list. Usually, according to statistical count, one synonym emerged as the first choice spoken word of the greater number of the ten or twelve subjects. The same held true in determining a first choice spoken grammatical form. This first choice spoken item I call the predominant communilect form. However, for practical purposes, the communilect used at each centre must be recognised as including two or three synonyms and two or three grammatical forms. In addition to the predominant communilect form, the other one or two synonyms or grammatical forms represent the first choice spoken items of the minority of the 10 or 12 subjects. Therefore two or three synonyms and two or three grammatical forms would indicate what is spoken by all families in the community.

2. COMMUNICABILITY TESTING

2.1 DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIALS

Throughout the rest of this paper I refer to the Western Desert communilects as follows: Mantjiltjarra at Wiluna; Martu Wangka at Jigalong; Yulparitja at La Grange; Wangkatjungka at Fitzroy Crossing and

Christmas Creek; Kukatja at Balgo; Pintupi/Luritja (i.e. Pintupi, Luritja mixed up) at Papunya; Ngaatjatjarra (i.e. Pintupi, Ngaatjatjarra mixed up) at Giles.

To assess communicability between each of the above mentioned communilects, I had to devise testing materials which would cover the range of synonyms and grammatical forms known or understood. The Mutual Intelligibility materials developed in Mexico (Casad 1972) were produced especially to measure communication between pairs of dialects. The story content communication technique was adapted, and four secular stories were pre-recorded from Jigalong in Martu Wangka and another four stories in Pintupi from Papunya. We prepared five content questions to go with each story, in the language of the story tellers.

To determine the spoken range and hearing range of each subject, a fifty-four item word list was prepared. To the right of each item there was line space to include twelve or so synonyms. Synonyms were divided into two categories, 'spoken' and 'heard'. A 'spoken' synonym is one which the subject uses currently, and regards as his language. We shall also call these primary synonyms. Some subjects gave two synonyms as their currently spoken language. The spoken first choice was to be recorded initially with the other spoken synonyms following, after which the 'heard' or secondary synonyms were to be recorded. In producing the word list, we deliberately tried to choose items which were unambiguous, in common usage, and easily demonstrable.

In a similar way a Grammatical Form synonym chart was prepared to allow the recording of spoken and heard forms for each subject. There were fifty-three items chosen for inclusion on the chart, based on prior knowledge of dialect differences in these forms in other centres.

2.2 ADMINISTERING THE MATERIALS

We attempted to consider several factors when choosing subjects at each centre. Firstly, we strove for an equal number of young and old. Secondly, we sought representatives from different families in the community. We did not reach these ideals completely in most places as we had to use whoever was interested and available. As the testing took approximately three hours with each person, those who were not working on the settlement were most often the only ones available. This limited the number of younger people for the testing. The other factor was that the middle aged and older people consider themselves the language experts and it was difficult to avoid a high proportion of such subjects. Nevertheless, in communities where we worked with 8 or 10 subjects, I felt a reasonable sample of the communilect was gained.

2.2.1 STORY TESTING

Each subject in each of the testing locations was asked to listen to seven stories. The first story was played to the subject as a trial story and the related questions were asked (no grading was recorded) to familiarise the subject with the procedure. Then the first of three further stories in the same dialect was played, (either Pintupi or Martu Wangka) until three or four sentences containing the answer to the first content question were covered. The tape was stopped and the content question asked by the field worker. The Martu Wangka stories had the questions recorded on the tape. These questions were sometimes repeated using local synonyms if the subject did not understand the Martu Wangka or Pintupi question forms. When the subject answered, his answer was evaluated by the field worker and graded accordingly. Two marks meant that his response was correct, one mark meant the response was partially correct, zero marks meant the response was not correct. Then the next section of the tape was played until the pause point for question two was reached. Here the machine was stopped and the next content question asked. After recording the grading of the answer the following questions were handled in the same way. This meant that each subject could gain a total of 30 marks for complete understanding of the 15 questions associated with the three Martu Wangka stories, and 30 marks for complete understanding of the 15 questions associated with the three Pintupi stories. The actual marks gained by each subject for each set of stories was later converted to a percentage. This percentage represented the subject's understanding of the story material.

In most cases we were successful in keeping prospective subjects from hearing the questions and answers given by another subject. However this was difficult as there was usually one or two other spectators sitting in while the testing was being conducted with one subject. If any spectators appeared interested enough to become a subject later, we diplomatically requested that they not listen to all the story material.

2.2.2 LANGUAGE IDENTIFICATION

After playing one or two of the stories from Papunya and Jigalong we would ask, 'What language is that person on the tape speaking?' We noted the responses with subjects from La Grange, Fitzroy Crossing, Christmas Creek, Papunya and Giles. We had not realised the usefulness of this question in communities visited earlier, and so have nothing recorded from them. Results on this question are summarised in section 3.5.

2.2.3 SYNONYM RANGE CHART

Commencing with Item 1 on the synonym range chart, i.e. 'nose', we would point to our own nose and ask in Pintupi or Martu Wangka, 'What is your name for this?' (If the question form in Pintupi or Martu Wangka was not understood, we used the local question forms.) We would write down the utterance in the extreme left hand margin of the Synonym Range Sheet. Then (pointing to a nose) we would ask, 'Do you (singular) speak any other word for this' whereupon he may give another synonym. After writing his 'spoken' synonym, we would then ask if he heard (understood) any other words for this (pointing to the nose, or using one of his previously given synonyms). We would list these words next, marking them with a lower case 'h' meaning 'heard vocabulary'. If the subject was slow responding at this stage we would prompt with the list of synonyms we had already recorded for that item, avoiding any that the subject had already mentioned. If the subject was reminded by our prompting of another synonym he/she spoke, we would record that word with a lower case 's' meaning 'spoken vocab'. This item was later considered in analysis along with the earlier recorded spoken synonyms. The prompting usually produced more 'heard' synonyms than 'spoken'. If the subject spoke English well, which was rare, we would ask the question without demonstrating, 'What word do you say for nose?' With the above method we took particular care not to influence the subjects in what synonym they would give as their first choice. The procedure as described for Item 1 was used for all other items on the Synonym Range list.

After one or two 'spoken' items were given by some subjects there was a declining lack of clarity on whether the item was 'spoken' or just 'heard'. A further complication occurred when a synonym 'heard' at the time of testing, had been 'spoken' earlier. This was explained to me on a number of occasions. It may have gone out of that person's speech because of taboo, but still be spoken by others not as closely related to the deceased person. It was also explained frequently that a particular 'heard' synonym was previously spoken by the subject in the 'bush' (prior to European contact). The 'spoken' synonyms will hereafter be called primary synonyms, while 'heard' synonyms will be called secondary synonyms.

2.2.4 GRAMMATICAL PARTS RANGE LIST

We usually administered the grammatical range list last as it is more complicated and not as easy to get uninfluenced responses to first choice forms. With subjects who knew no English we usually used a Desert language to give them a choice of the grammatical form in a context. For example, to ask about the grammatical form we would ask, 'What do you say, like this *punguna ngayulu* or *ngayulu pungu*?' Similarly for Item 2 we would ask in language, 'What do you say, *ngayuni pungu* or *punguni ngayunya*?' Once we had determined the subject's spoken utterance we would then prompt with other synonyms of that form, to see if the subject 'heard' them. These would be marked with a lower case 'h'.

2.2.5 SPOKEN TEXT

The final contribution from each subject was usually a small one or two minute text on any topic desired by the subject. By listening to this text we were able to see if the person's spoken language was confirming the synonyms and grammatical forms already noted. These texts were not graded in any way. Some of the subjects spoke about their days in the 'bush' prior to white contact and by which route they came to European civilisation.

Four additional texts were taken from people at Papunya explaining the language and dialect situation as they knew it in the 'bush'. A lot of detail on range of movements and first European contact are contained in these texts.

2.3 DETAILS ON CENTRES VISITED

As we only had one month in which to collect data, we were limited in the number of centres we could visit. As a result of prior knowledge we realised that smaller communities were usually linguistically related to larger communities in geographically close proximity. For this reason we determined not to take samples from communities where languages other than Western Desert were predominant, e.g. Wave Hill or Meekatharra. We aimed mainly at larger pockets of speakers of Western Desert dialects. Although I feel our results are adequate to demonstrate trends, it would have been better had we had time and opportunity to gather data from Docker River, Areyonga, Yuendumu, Nookenbah, Strelley, Lala Rooka and perhaps Warburton Ranges. Nevertheless, from observations and conversation with speakers from the above places, I believe their language can be related back to the closest larger centre. Pintupi/Luritja at Yuendumu is regarded as being similar to Pintupi/Luritja at Papunya and closely related to Kukatja at Balgo. Mantjiltjarra at Lala Rooke and Strelley is considered to be closely related to Martu Wangka at Jigalong. Historically people from both these centres lived at Jigalong until the late 1960's. Western Desert language at both these centres is also regarded as being closely related to Yulparitja at La Grange. I recognise Areyonga and Docker River as being closely related to Ernabella dialect. However Docker River also has close ties with Giles and Papunya.

Chart 1 shows the names of the centres visited in the lefthand column with details of the dates they were established and dates when the last desert people arrived in that final movement. The righthand column lists languages other than those surveyed which are spoken at these centres.

Location	Established	Last Arr./Number	Other Lang. on Centre
Giles	1975/1960	1970/4	Ngaanyatjarra, Ngaatjatjarra, Pitjantjatjarra
Haasts B Papunya	1930's	1966/17	Warlpiri, Aranda, Anmatjarri
Yuendumu	1947	1959/52	Warlpiri, Yanmatjirri
Balgo	1939	1959/15-20	Warlpiri, Walmajarri
Fitzroy C.			Walmajarri, Bunaba, Gunian Kitja
Christmas Creek			Walmajarri
La Grange	1955	1965/30	Karajarri, Juwaliny, Nyangumarta, Mangarla
Strelley	1970		Nyangamarta, Kartutjarra, Kurajarri
Jigalong	1945	1966/	
Wiluna	1950		Wajarri, Purranyatjarra, Kiyatjarra

3. RESULTS OF TESTING

3.1 SYNONYM RANGE MASTERS

Approximately 70 subjects were tested in the eight different communities previously mentioned. It seems that the only way to display the great range of synonyms and grammatical forms used by speakers of the communilects in each centre is to present a master list for each community. Each master list combines the contribution of five to ten subjects at the centre concerned. At the centres where fewer subjects were tested the author had greater in-depth knowledge of the range of synonyms used. Such extra synonyms and grammatical forms were added to the Papunya master list as secondary or 'heard' forms.

Working from the Synonym Range sheets from one community, the synonym which was first preference to the greater number of subjects is listed first in the master list for that community. This is followed by the synonym which was the next most popular first preference for the subjects tested. The next most popular synonym is placed third on the master list. Often it was necessary to consider primary synonyms from the 2nd and 3rd preference of subjects, when selecting this third place synonym on the master list. For instance if two subjects indicated synonym (a) as their first choice and two other subjects indicated synonym (b) as their first choice, 2nd and 3rd preferences of other subjects would be viewed. If synonym (a) was indicated as a second choice of a majority of other subjects then synonym (a) would rank before synonym (b) in the listing of primary synonyms on the master sheet of the community concerned. After this, all primary synonyms are listed even if only one or two subjects mentioned them. A double (//) indicates the end of the primary synonyms and all that follow this mark are secondary synonyms or synonyms 'heard' by the subjects from the community. These are not arranged in any order of preference.

In some situations synonyms which are known to be borrowed from English and surrounding languages were given by subjects as their first choice synonym. These words have probably been adopted to avoid some taboo word which was significant to that person. Such borrowings have been listed along with other spoken vocabulary in their order of preference.

The source of borrowed synonyms is not easy to identify. Because of the historical mixing and frequent borrowings several Aborigines may give different sources for the one synonym. For example, the word *tjapinu* 'to ask' is used by Warlpiri and Pintupi. Some of those using it will say it is Warlpiri and others Pintupi. Of course there are many vocabulary items on which there is general consensus regarding their source. Many subjects seemed to know when a certain synonym was not their language, but widely differing answers were given as to the dialect or language to which it belonged.

Some synonyms are used in the avoidance speech. (See CRS vocabulary [Hansen & Hansen 1975].) We did not especially ask for avoidance vocabulary. An item which is taboo and avoidance speech in one community will not necessarily be so in another. Words which we recognised and determined to be avoidance speech were not included, (these were very few). Again taboo words were included in the master listing if they were given by any subject.

The material from Ernabella and Warburton Ranges is from one speaker at each place, and is included only for comparative purposes. Because of this it is headed 'Material' rather than 'Master'.

Master lists are arranged with the English glosses at the left of the page with synonyms listed in the order of preference (as described above) at the right. Those which precede the double slash mark are primary synonyms used in the community and those which follow it are secondary synonyms.

3.1.1 ERNABELLA MATERIAL

nose	*mulya*
ear	*pina, anpiri*
tooth	*katiti*
hand	*mara, manyirrka, mulkutu*
boomerang	*kali*
woomera	*mirru//lankurru, pikurru*
house	*wali, yiwala//waala*
camp	*ngurra*
fire	*waru, kunparatji*
water	*mina, kumpuli, kapi//tjiwiri, ngapa*
sky	*ilkari*
sun	*tjintu, tjirirrpi*
moon	*pira, kinara*
wind	*walpa, pirriya, kakarata*
night	*munga*
midday	*kalala*
north	*alinytjarra, kayili*
south	*ulparirra, uwarirra*
east	*kakarrara*
west	*wilurarra, wiwurarra*
creek	*ankuwayi, karru*
earth	*manta, pana*
path	*iwarra, ruuta*
stick	*punu, kawarrtji//ngana*
food	*mai, mirrka//pulakarra*
dog	*papa, tjitutja, wanguwangu*
meat	*kuka, wakari*
cat	*ngaya, putji, putjikata, ngiyu, mulku//wiika*
crow	*kaanka, wangkilka, tarrkangalku, waangarrungarru, mirringalku*
fly	*punpunpa, muungu*
one	*kutju, kampinyu, kumpinyu*
two	*kutjarra, nyatuwarra*
many	*tjuta//pini*
big	*pulka//tina*
small	*tjukutjuku, tjimpatjimpa, kulunypa//tjapu, wiima*
good	*palya, nguyanyu, wiru, kurramunu//walykumunu*
bad	*kurra, kurrakurra, palyamunu, walykuwalyku*
no	*wiya*
yes	*uwa//yuwa*

black	*maru, marumaru*
red	*tjitintjitinpa, tjintjiritjintjiri, riitwana//tjatjaka*
man	*wati, puntu*
woman	*minyma, kungka//wanatjarra, tjalpiratjarra*
father	*mama, punarri, ngalkari//tati*
mother	*ngunytju*
older brother	*kut̲a*
saw	*nyangu*
heard	*kulin̲u, altjurunu*
drank	*tjikin̲u*
ate	*ngalkun̲u//ngalangu*
sat	*nyinangu//purun̲u*
stood	*ngarangu*
gave	*ungu//yungu, nintin̲u*
shot	*pawun̲u//tjutupungu*

3.1.2 GILES MASTER

nose	*mulya, nyunngura, nyurrkut̲a, mut̲ura, mut̲ara, nguyali //tjutju*
ear	*pina, yanpiri, yangkuru, pila//kuranpa, kul̲ka, munat̲a*
tooth	*kat̲it̲i, yirra, yanytjiwarra*
hand	*mara, mulkutu, manyirrka//munyutu*
boomerang	*kal̲i, yirrkili, pumiringi, kampayiki, tjarangkalpa //pirrayi, walanu*
woomera	*mirru, lankurru//pikurru, walparra, mangkutju, marapaku, tjut̲iltjut̲ilpa*
house	*tawunpa, yiwal̲a//waal̲a, yawilypa, maya*
camp	*ngurra, pintiri, yulun̲pa*
fire	*waru, kun̲paratji, kunyingarrpa//kunparrpa, kal̲a*
water	*kapi, kalyu//tjiwiri, tjarruru, yil̲a, ngapa*
sky	*yilkari, ngan̲ka, nguru//yalkiri*
sun	*tjin̲t̲u, nyilpa//yupunytju*
moon	*kin̲ara, pira, kitjil̲i, kilara, muunpa, maanytja //tjunitjal̲u, kintanyu, panyalpa, wil̲arra, tjakilinpa*
wind	*pirriya, wal̲pa, wiinpa, wilinypa, ngarruntu//winu, wangalpa, ngalarra*
night	*munga, warurru*
midday	*kal̲al̲a, tinatayimi, nyilpakatukatu, karrpu*
north	*kayili, yalinytjarra//kayilirra*
south	*yulparirra//yulpari*
east	*kakarrara, kakarra//katalk[illegible], lukurrku*
west	*yapurra, wilurarra, yapurrkura//wilura*
creek	*karru, kirikpa, kiriki, yangkuwayi//wungka*
earth	*pan̲a, manta, warirrki*

track	*yiwarra, ruurrpa, karrukarru, palkarra, yururru//ruutu, watjarra*
stick	*wat̲a, ngan̲a, pun̲u, watiya*
food	*mirrka, mayi, pulakarra//miyi, yuta, mantjirrpa, mangarri*
dog	*papa, tjan̲t̲u//wit̲a, tjutju, kunyarrpa*
meat	*kuka, miitpa//kuwiyi, kuyu, tjaapi*
cat	*wiika, ngaya, nyulkulku, wiilyka, kunanyumpunypa, putjikatu, ngalyangamu//ngalyataanpa, nyumpunypa, kunawitinypa, miiyawu, tjutjukulyu, mulyangamu*
crow	*kaan̲ka, tarrkamungulpa, waarrngarrungarru, wakin̲ka, pinyingalku, wangkilpa, waangurru//waaku, wangkilka, waangu, wakinta, mungutjangalkulanytja*
fly	*muungu, punpunpa, munurrku//ngurrit̲a, ngurriny*
one	*kutju, kumpinyu*
two	*kutjarra, kalyarrara*
many	*pin̲i, tjut̲a, yan̲nga, pil̲i, pinyi, laltu//wiinytja*
big	*pul̲kanya, yuwinpa//pul̲ka, tin̲a, matju, yakulyu, tjuma*
small	*kul̲upa, kul̲unypa, tjukutjuku, tjapu, wiima//tjulyitjulyi, tjulyi, nyamanypa*
good	*walykumunu, palya, wiru, pan̲t̲irrpa//kurramunu, kunytjunyu, miku*
bad	*palyamunu, kurrakurra, walyku, panytja, put̲a//kurra, kuya*
no	*wiyawinngirra//paki, munu, yumu, waya, kunpu*
yes	*yuwa, uwa//yuu*
black	*maru, marumaru*
red	*tjitintjitinpa, riitwanpa, mitjilpa, tjatjaka, mitjimitji //minyminy*
man	*wati, puntu//mat̲u*
woman	*minyma, tutju, wanatjarra, kungka, tjalpiratjarra//wanti*
father	*mama, tati, mamat̲i, punarri*
mother	*ngunytju, yipi, mami//yaku, yakut̲i*
older brother	*kut̲a, puratja, kaka//pupu, papat̲u*
saw	*nyangu*
heard	*kulin̲u, yangkuranu//yaltjurunu, ngangkunu*
drank	*tjikin̲u*
ate	*ngalangu, ngalkun̲u*
sat	*nyinangu, pintiringarangu*
stood	*ngarangu*
gave	*nintin̲u, yungu*
shot	*tjutupungu, rulyupungu, kuntin̲u//yungkan̲u, pawun̲u, rungkan̲u*

3.1.3 WARBURTON MATERIAL

nose	*mulya, nyunngura, mutura//nguyali*
ear	*pina, yanpiri, yangkuru*
tooth	*kat̲it̲i, yanytjiwarra*

hand	*mara, mul̲kutu, manyirrka, munyutu*
boomerang	*kal̲i, yirrkili, pumiringi, walanu*
woomera	*mirru, lankurru*
house	*tawunpa, yiwal̲a*
camp	*ngurra, pintiri*
fire	*waru, kun̲pararrtji, kunparrpa*
water	*kapi//kalyu*
sky	*yilkari*
sun	*tjin̲t̲u, yupunytju, nyilpa*
moon	*kin̲ara, pira, kitjili, muunpa*
wind	*pirriya, wal̲pa, wiinpa, wilinypa*
night	*munga, payinpa*
midday	*kal̲al̲a, tinatayimi//karrpu*
north	*kayili, yalinytjarra//kayilirra*
south	*yulparirra//yulpari*
east	*kakarrara//kakarra, katalku*
west	*yapurra, wilurarra//yapurrkura*
creek	*karru, kirikpa, kiriki, yangkuwayi*
earth	*pan̲a, manta*
track	*yiwarra, ruurrpa, karrukarru, palkarra*
stick	*wat̲a, ngan̲a, pun̲u*
food	*mirrka, mayi, pulakarra*
dog	*papa, tjan̲t̲u, tjutju*
meat	*kuka, miitpa//kuwiyi, kuyu*
cat	*wiilyka, ngaya, nyulkulku, wiika, putjikatu, wilpinpa, ngalyataan̲pa*
crow	*kaan̲ka, tarrkamungulpa, waangarrungarru*
fly	*muungu, puurrpuun̲pa*
one	*kutju, kumpinyu*
two	*kutjarra, kalyararra*
many	*pin̲i, tjut̲a//pinyi*
big	*pul̲kanya, pul̲ka*
small	*kul̲upa, kul̲unypa, tjukutjuku//tjulyitjulyi*
good	*walykumunu, palya, kurramunu//wiru, miku*
bad	*palyamunu, kurrakurra, walyku, kurra, puta//kuya, panytja*
no	*wiya, winngirra, kunpu//paki, munu*
yes	*yuwa//uwa, yuu*
black	*maru, marumaru*
red	*tjitintjitinpa, riitwanpa, mitjilpa*
man	*wati, puntu//matu*
woman	*minyma, wanatjarra, kungka, tjalpiratjarra//tutju*
father	*mama, tati, punari, mamat̲i*
mother	*ngunytju, yipi, mami*
older brother	*kut̲a, puratja, kaka, pupu*
saw	*nyangu*
heard	*kulin̲u, yaltjurunu*
drank	*tjikin̲u*

ate	*ngalangu//ngalkunu*
sat	*nyinangu, pintiringarangu*
stood	*ngarangu*
gave	*nintinu, yungu*
shot	*tjutupungu, rulyupungu, yungkanu, rungkanu//kuntinu, pawunu*

3.1.4 PAPUNYA MASTER

nose	*mulya, nyunngura, nguyali, kuyala//tjuutju, mutara*
ear	*pina, yanpiri, langa, munata, kurupa//kurrata, yangkuru, wurrata, matamuti*
tooth	*katiti, yirra, yirraputa, yanytjiwarra*
hand	*mara, munyutu, manyirrka, munytjunpa//marumpu*
boomerang	*kali, pirrayi, yirrkili, pumaringi*
woomera	*mirru, lankurru, pikurru, tjutiltjutilpa //talkawitanpa, mangkutju, marapaku*
house	*waala, tjitipayina, yiwala, tawunpa, waali//marru*
camp	*ngurra, pintiri, taku*
fire	*waru, kunparatji, kunyingarrpa//kala*
water	*kapi, kalyu, tjiwiri, tjarruru, mina, yila, ngapa*
sky	*nganka, yilkari, nguru*
sun	*tjintu, yupunytju, kuli, piya//nyanyi, tjirirrpi*
moon	*kinara, tjakilinpa, maanytja, pira, kirrinytji, panyalpa, katalpa//tjunitjalu, kitjili, tjunipulka, wilarra*
wind	*walpa, ngalarra, wilinypa, ngarruntu, pirriya, wanganpa, arruntunya//winu*
night	*munga, warurru, payilpa, payinpa*
midday	*karrpu, kalala//nyilpakatukatu*
north	*kayili, yalinytjarra//kayilirra*
south	*yulparirra//ngapati, yulparita*
east	*kakarrara, kakarra//lukurrku*
west	*yapurra, wilurarra//yapurrkura*
creek	*karru, kuriki, larrtjalarrtja, kiriki*
earth	*pana, manta, warirrki*
track	*yiwarra, palkarra, ruutu//yurutu, watjarra, yururru*
stick	*wata, punu, ngana, watiya*
food	*mayi, mirrka, miyi//mangarri, yuta, mantjirrpa*
dog	*papa, tjantu, wita//tjutjutju, kunyarrpa, tjutju*
meat	*kuka, miita, miitpa//kuyu, wakari, tjaapi*
cat	*ngaya, wiika, putjikata, wiratju, nyarrukuta, wilpinpa, ngalyataanpa, miiyawu//tjutjukulyu, nyalkulku, minyawu, ngalyangamu, mulyangamu, nganytjanpa, tjiinpa, ngiingi*
crow	*kaanka, kampinyka, kunangalku, tarrkamungulpa, tjakinkata, wangkita, wakitata, tjangilyka//kurukanti, wakinkata, pirurrngalku, waangurru, waaku, waangarrungarru*

fly	*muungu, ngurrinypa, punpunpa//kunma, munurrku, munurrkunuku*
one	*kutju, kumpinyu//tjinu*
two	*kutjarra, kalyararra, kumpinyurra*
many	*tjuta, pini, ruunytja, laltu, yannga, pinyi//warrmalpa, wiinytja*
big	*pulkanya, pulka, tina, yuwinpa//tjalu, matju, yakulyu*
small	*tjukutjuku, wiima//nyamanypa, tjaputjapu, tjulitjuli, yamanypa*
good	*palya, wiru, miku, pantirrpa//kunytjunyu, walykumunu*
bad	*kurra, panytja, kuya, puta//walyku*
no	*wiya//yumu, paki, waya, munu*
yes	*yuwa, yuu//uwa*
black	*maru//munga*
red	*tjatjaka, karrku//mitjimitji, riitwana, mitjilpa, milimili*
man	*wati, puntu//matu*
woman	*tutju, minyma, wanatjarra, kungka//wanti*
father	*mama, mamanti, tati//tjatja*
mother	*ngunytju, yipi, mami, yaku, maama//yakuti*
older brother	*kuta, papatu, kaaka*
saw	*nyangu*
heard	*kulinu, yangkunu, yankurunu//yaltjurunu, ngangkunu*
drank	*tjikinu//yiilarringu*
ate	*ngalkunu, ngalangu*
sat	*nyinangu, pintiringarangu*
stood	*ngarangu*
gave	*yungu//nintinu*
shot	*kuntinu, rungkanu, tjutupungu//rulyupungu, yungkanu*

3.1.5 BALGO MASTER

nose	*mulya, nyunngura, nguyali, pantilypantily//tjutju, nyurrkura, mutura*
ear	*pina, langa, kuranpa, kulka, yanpiri, yankuru, yirula, munata kulilkulil, kurrata*
tooth	*katiti, watura, yirra, lirra, yanytjiwarra*
hand	*mulkutu, mara, marumpu, munyutu, kurrapa*
boomerang	*kali, pirrayi, yirrkili, walanu, tjulupali, kunanturu, tjilpirrpa*
woomera	*mirru, lankurru, pikirri, pikurru, mangkutju, tjutilypa, marapaku, walparra, tjutiltjutilpa*
house	*marru, mayaru, waala, yawutjupa, yiwala//yawi, tawunpa, yawilypa, yiwali*
camp	*ngurra, pintiri, yulunpa, tjuluny*
fire	*waru, kunparatji, walu, tjangilyan, nguyumparra //kunyingarrpa, kala, mitjirri, ngitji, yilinytji*

water	*kapi, kalyu, tjiwiri, tjarruru, ngapa, yila, kulali, purraku//kalinyu*
sky	*nganka, nguru, yalkiri, yilkari*
sun	*tjintu, yupunytju, kuli, nyilpa, ngililpa, purangu*
moon	*yakanypa, panyalpa, kirrinytji, tjakilinpa, wilarra, tjunitjalu, kinara, pira//maanytja, kitjili, muunpa*
wind	*walpa, ngalarra, wilinypa, mayawuny, tjutuly//nguminu, winu, pirriya, wangapa, ngarruntu, karaputa, wangalpa*
night	*munga, mungatjarra, warurru, wurrulytju, payinta*
midday	*karrpu, kurutjurrku, kalala, wanta, kankarrarringu*
north	*kayili, yalinytjarra, kayilirra, yalinytja, yalinykatinytja*
south	*yulparirra, yulpari, ngapati*
east	*kakarra, kakararra, lukurrku*
west	*yapurra, wilura, yapurrkura, wilurarra, kularra*
creek	*karru, kiliki, kuriki, warrku, matuwarra//wungka*
earth	*pana, warirrki, manta, nguwa*
track	*yiwarra, karrukarru, ruutu, palkarra//watjarra, ruutpa, tjina*
stick	*wata, punu, watiya, ngana*
food	*mirrka, mangarri, mayi, miyi, mantjirrpa//yuta*
dog	*tjantu, papa, wita, kunyarrpa, wangani, tjutju, punpulu, tjarrnga*
meat	*kuka, kuyu, kuwiyi, miitpa, liwilypa*
cat	*ngaya, nyumpunya, putjikatu, wilypiny, nyulkulkutu, miiyawu, kunangamuka, minyawu, taanpa, wiika, kunawutju, ngalyamarrka, ngalyataanpa, wiilyka, nanytjatjinpa, ngalyangamu, nganytjanpa, mangunypa, nyulkulku, ngalyanyuwata, ngalyakinti, mulyangamu, kunanyumpu, ngalyakintikinti, puutji*
crow	*kaanka, tarrkamungulpa, wankuta, wakitata, tarrkangalku, minytjinngalku, takinkata, kunatjarrilypungku, waaku, waanka, wakinka, kuwalpa, wankura, wangkuriny, kurukanti, waangu*
fly	*ngurrinypa, muungu, ngurrita, munurrku*
one	*kutju, kumpinyu, tjinu, nguyarra, yikamata*
two	*kutjarra*
many	*laltu, yannga, pinyi, pini, tjuta, ruunytja*
big	*tjalu, pulka, yuwinpa, tina, matju//yakulyu, tjuma*
small	*lampanpa, tjuku, wiima, nyamany(pa)//tjapu, tjulitjuli, tjumpili*
good	*palya, pantirrpa, miku, wiru, ngalypa//kunytjunyu, walykumunu*
bad	*ngawu, puta, panytja, kurra, kuya//walyku, nyurrka, mungutja*
no	*wiya, lawa, yumu//waya, paki, munu*
yes	*yuwa, yuu*

black	*maru, marumaru, yalta, lipi, kutupiri, nalipa*
red	*pilytji, karrku, riitwana, yilkurrkura, mitjimitji, tjatjaka, mutu, tiritiri*
man	*puntu, wati, matu*
woman	*tutju, minyma, wanatjarra, wanakulu, mirrkatjarra, kungka//wanti*
father	*mama, wapirra, tati, mamati, yina//kantju*
mother	*yipi, ngunytju, yipitja, mami, yakuti//nyurrka, tilypu*
older brother	*kuta, papatu//pupu, kukunu*
saw	*nyangu*
heard	*kulinu, yangkurunu, yaltjurunu//ngangkunu*
drank	*tjikinu*
ate	*ngalangu, ngalkunu*
sat	*nyinangu, pintiringarangu*
stood	*ngarangu*
gave	*yungu*
shot	*yungkanu, kuntinu, rungkanu, tjutumanu, tjutupungu*

3.1.6 CHRISTMAS CREEK MASTER

nose	*mulya, nguyali, punulpa, nyunngura, pantilpantilpa, nyurrkuta//mutura, tjutju, mutarrka*
ear	*pina, yirrul(pa), yangkuru, kulilkulilpa, yiyurr, munata, wurrata, langa//yitul, kuranpa, kulka, munata, yanpiri*
tooth	*katiti, yirra, lirra, tjaminytji, yanytjiwarra, watura, tjawa*
hand	*marumpu, mara, mulkutu, kurrapa, mala//munyutu*
boomerang	*kali, pirrayi, yirrkili, warraka, paralyi, walampa //walanu, wilki, tjiinpa*
woomera	*lankurru, pikurru, mirru, walparra, marapaku, ngapaliny, mangkutju, parrkalyi, tjutilpa, yilpili //tjutiltjutilpa, marapangu*
house	*mayaru, marru, maya, yiwali, mangkatja, kanatja//taatjan, waala, tawunpa, yawilypa, yiwala*
camp	*ngurra, pintiri, yulunpa*
fire	*waru, walu, kunparatji, tjangilyany, ngunyumpara//wanali, kunyingarrpa, kala*
water	*kalyu, kapi, ngapa, yila, tjarruru//tjiwiri, papa, kungkutjunyu*
sky	*yalkiri, nganka, nguru//yilkari*
sun	*tjintu, purangu, yupunytju, ngilirrpa, ngililpa, tjila//piya, nyilpa, wangkuwangku*
moon	*yakan(pa), panyalpa, tjakiliny(pa), kinara, wilarra //tjunitjalu, pira, maanytja, kitjili, kintanyu, muun*
wind	*walpa, mayawun(pa), ngalarra, wangalpa, ngarruntu, wangarr, pirriya, tjutuly, makurru//winu, wilinypa*

night	*mungatjarra, munga, warurru, payinpa//yupunytju, pukanytja, kapan*
midday	*karrpu, karrpuwati//nyilpakatukatu, kalala*
north	*kayili, kayirrara, kayilingu//yalinytjarra, yalinytja, kayilirra, yatitjarra*
south	*yulparirra, kulirra, ngawarrara//ngapati, yulpari*
east	*kakarra, lukurrku//kakarrara, lukurrpa*
west	*yapurra, wilura//kala, yapurrkura, wilurarra*
creek	*karru, matuwarra, kiliki, kuriki, walalarra//wungka*
earth	*pana, nguwa, warirrki//manta*
track	*yiwarra, karrukarru, ruutu//palkarra, watjarra, ruurrpa, munyi, walyarra*
stick	*wata, punu, mana, yingkana, watiya*
food	*mayi, mirrka, mangarri, miyi, mantjirr(pa)//yuta, kunamanytjirr, pulura*
dog	*wita, tjantu, papa, kunyarr(pa)//ngini, tjannga, tjutju*
meat	*kuka, kuyu, kuwiyi//miitpa, mantu, liwilypa*
cat	*putjikata, miyawu, ngaya, nyulkulku, ngalyangamu, ngalyataanpa, wilypiny, nyumpunpa, ngalyakintikinti, wiika //tjutjukulyu, minyawu, ngantjanpa, papangalura, putjikan(pa), mulyangamu, ngiingi, tjiinpa, mitulypa, ngalyanganmu*
crow	*kaanka, wangkana, kunamungulpa, tarrkamungulpa, yunangalku, tjangintara, wakita, tarrkaminytjirr, waaku, tjakilyata, wakinka, wakitata, wankuta, waangu, tarrkaminytjil, kunatjarrinpungku*
fly	*ngurriny(pa), muungu, ngurrita, purrmuru//muunurrku, ngurrila*
one	*kutju, kumpinyu, tjinu, kayan*
two	*kutjarra, tjirrama, kurriny*
many	*laltu, yannga, pinyi, pini//wiinytja, tjuta*
big	*tjalu, pulka, yuwin(pa), matju, tjukumunu//tjuma, tina, yakulyu*
small	*lampan(pa), tjuku, tjukutjuku, tjukunya, nyamanpa, ngini //tjulitjuli, wiima, tjumpili, nyuyi*
good	*palya, pantirr(pa), wulyu, miku//kunytjunyu, ngalypa, wiru, walykumunu, nyarru, tjuninkarra*
bad	*puta, walyku, panytja, ngawu, ngalapa//kurra, kuya, kuyamata*
no	*wiya, wara, malaly//paki*
yes	*yuwa, yuu, yarapa*
black	*maru, marumaru, yalta, kunkun*
red	*yilkulyyilkulypa, riituwan, riitpala, karrku, tili, pilytji, tjitjiwa//mitjimitji, mitjilpa, mungumungu*
man	*puntu, wati, yina//matu, pun, ngapayi, purrku*
woman	*tutju, minyma, wanakulu//ngilypi, wanti, munin, kungka*

father	*yina, mama, tati, ngarpu, wapirra*
mother	*yipi, tilypu, nyurrka, yipitja, ngunytju, ngamali, lampunu//yakuti, mami*
older brother	*kuta, papatu, papatji//pupu*
saw	*nyangu, milyakunu, nyanyama*
heard	*kulinu, kawuntanu, ngangkunu, pinalkarrinya//yangkurunu, yaltjurunu, yankuranu*
drank	*tjikinu, nganimana*
ate	*ngalangu, nganu, ngani//ngalkunu*
sat	*nyinangu, kirrpanya*
stood	*ngarangu, karrinya//yikinu*
gave	*yungu//nintinu, yinyapala*
shot	*yungkanu, tjutupungu, luwani//kuntinu, tjutumanu*

3.1.7 FITZROY CROSSING MASTER

nose	*mulya, punulpa, nyunngura, pantirrpantirr //pantilypantilypa, kuyali, nguyali, mutura, tjutju*
ear	*pina, kulilkulilpa, langa, munata, yangkuru//kuranpa, kulka, wurrata, yanpiri*
tooth	*yirra, tjaaminytji, katiti, yanytjiwarra*
hand	*mara, kurrapa, marumpu, mulkutu//munyutu*
boomerang	*kali, tjinypa, yipapalypa, paltjarrangu//yirrkili, warraka, pirrayi, walanu*
woomera	*marapaku, lankurru, pikurru, mirru, kunanturu//mangkutju, tjutiltjutilpa*
house	*mayaru, yawutji, maya, yiwali//tawunpa, yawilypa, waala*
camp	*ngurra, rurrngu, tjunpurrpa//yulunpa, pintiri*
fire	*waru, walu, wanali//kunparatji, kala, kunyingarrpa*
water	*kalyu, kapi, ngapa//tjarruru, papa, tjiwiri, kunyatu, karuwa*
sky	*nganka, yalkiri, yalkari//nguru*
sun	*tjintu, purangu//ngilily(pa), yupunytju, piya, nyilpa*
moon	*yakan(pa), panyalpa, wilarra, tatata//kinara, muun, tjunitjalu, tjakilinpa, maanytja*
wind	*walpa, ngalarra, wangal, mayawuny, winta//pirriya, ngarruntu, wilinypa, winu*
night	*munga, mungatjarra, warurru, pukanytja//yupunytju*
midday	*karrpu, karrpuwati, kumanta, tjiningara, kankarrapakanu //nyilpakatukatu*
north	*kayili, kayirra, nyankantal//yalinytja, yalinytjarra, kayilirra, mayili*
south	*yulparirra, kulila, kulirra, ngawarrara//yulpari, ngapati*
east	*kakarra//kakarrara*
west	*wilura, yapurra//wilura, rra, yapurrkura, kala*
creek	*karru, kiliki, matuwarra, tarrkalpa//kiriki, wungka*

earth	*paṉa, nguwa, warirrki//manta, walya*
track	*yiwarra, karrukarru, ruutu, palkarra//walalarra, yururru, watjarra, ruutpa, walyarra, wanytjarra*
stick	*waṯa, puṉu, maṉa//ngaṉa, watiya*
food	*mayi, mirrka, miyi, mangarri//mantjirr(pa), yuta, puluru, manyirr*
dog	*wiṯa, tjaṉṯu, kunyarr(pa)//papa, tjutju, punpulu, kampura*
meat	*kuka, kuwiyi, kuyu, miit, wakari, ngaṯinypa//mantu*
cat	*minyawu, miiyawu, putjikatu, wilpiṉpa, ngaya, ngalyakinti //nyulkuḻku, ngalyataaṉpa, nyimpuṉpa, wiika, ngalyangamu, mulyangamu, tjutjukulyu, wiilyka, nganytjanpa, tjiinpa, ngiingi, mituḻpa*
crow	*kaaṉka, tjakilyaṯa, wangkaṉa, wakiṉka, wangkiti, wangkuṯa, wakalata, wakiṯaṯa, waakwaak, waaku, pinyingkalku, waangu, minytjilytjaka, tarrkamungulu*
fly	*ngurrinypa, ngurrinya, muungu, kurungalku, purrmuru, ngurraṯa, ngurrita//muunurrku, ngurrila*
one	*kutju, kumpinyu, kayan//tjinu*
two	*kutjarra, kurriny*
many	*laltu, patja, tjayiya, piṉi//yaṉnga, pinyi, wiinytja, tjuṯa*
big	*tjaḻu, puḻka, yuwinpa, puḻkanya//matju, tjuma, yakulyu, kiṯa, matjuwaṯa*
small	*tjuku, lampaṉ, tjukutjuku, tjutamata, nyuyi//tjulitjuli, tjapu, wiima, nyamanypa, tjumpiḻi*
good	*palya, paṉṯirr(pa), puṯapaṉi, wulyu, wiyapuṯa //kunytjunyu, ngalypa, miku, wiru, walykumunu*
bad	*puṯa, walyku, panytja, ngaḻa//kuyamaṯa, kuya, kurra*
no	*wiya, yumu//paki, munu, waya*
yes	*yuu, yuwa, yuwayi*
black	*maru, kunkun(pa), marumaru, pulakwana*
red	*tilitili, tilytilypa, yilkurr, yilkuyilku, riitwanpa, pilytji, mitjimitji//matarrpa, tjatjaka, pilyarri, mitjilpa, riitpala, minyminy, piḻpat*
man	*puntu, wati, ngaṉkurrkuḻu, nganpayi, piina//maṯu, yiṉa*
woman	*tutju, wanatjarra, minyma, maṉin, mulytunpa, kalapi //wanti, ngilypi*
father	*mama, yiṉa, tati, mamanti, ngarpu, wapirra*
mother	*yipi, yipitja, tilypu, mami, nyurrka//ngunytju, yakuṯi*
older brother	*kuṯa, papaṯu, papatji//pupu*
saw	*nyangu*
heard	*kuliṉu, kuwantanu, pinakarrinya//yalytjuruṉu, ngangkunu, yangkurunu*
drank	*tjikiṉu, wuntuṉu, ngupuṉu*
ate	*ngalangu//ngalkuṉu*
sat	*nyinangu//pintiringarangu*

stood	*ngarangu//yikinu*
gave	*yungu//nintinu*
shot	*yungkanu, tuutumanu, tulkurrpungu, tutupungu//kuntinu*

3.1.8 LA GRANGE MASTER

nose	*mulya, pantilpantil, kuyali, nguyali, milya, nyurrngura//nyunngura, tjutju, mutura*
ear	*munata, kulilkulilpa, kulka, kuran(pa), pina//yangkuru, wurrata, matamuti, yanpiri, yankura*
tooth	*yirra, katiti, yanytjiwarra*
hand	*mara, kurrapa, mapirr(pa), munyutu//mulkutu*
boomerang	*kali, yirrkili, paralyi, tjarangkarr, yarankarrpa, warraka//walanu, pirrayi, kunantu*
woomera	*walparra, marapaku, mangkutju, mirru, lankurru, pikurru, tjutiltjutilpa//marapangu*
house	*maya, yayanpa, tawunpa//yiwala, yawilypa*
camp	*ngurra//pana, yulunpa, pintiri*
fire	*waru, kala, tjungku, kunparatji//walu, wika, kunyingarrpa*
water	*kalyu, kapi, papa, ngapa//tjiwiri, tjarruru*
sky	*nganka//yilkari*
sun	*tjintu, karrpu, purangu//nyilpa, piya, yupunytju*
moon	*wilarra, panyalpa, yakanypa, tatata, kirriti, tjunitjalu//tjakilinpa, kitjili, muun, maanytja, kinara, kintanyu*
wind	*wangalpa, walpa, ngalarra, wilinypa, wiinpa, pirriya //ngarruntu, winu*
night	*mungatjarra, munga//warurru, yupunytju*
midday	*karrpu, karrpuwati, rukaruka//kalala, nyilpa, katukatu*
north	*kayili, yalinytja, yalinytjarra//kayilirra, kayiliwarraku*
south	*yulparirra, ngapati, ngawarrara//yulpari, kulila*
east	*kakarra//kakarrara, lukurrku*
west	*yapurra, wilura, yapurrkura, kara//wilurarra*
creek	*karru, kuriki, kurikpa, wungka, tjurarrpa*
earth	*pana, munnyi, manta//warirrki*
track	*yiwarra, ruutu, karrukarru, mutu, palkarra, ruutpa*
stick	*wata, mangu, wurrkalpa//punu, watiya, nganawati*
food	*mayi, mirrka, mantjirrpa, miyi, yungkalpinti//yuta, matumirri*
dog	*tjantu, wita, kunyarr(pa), papa, tjangalyi, kampura, yukurru//tjutju, kunyarra*
meat	*kuka, kuwiyi, miitpa//mantu, tjangalyi*
cat	*minyawu, putjikatu, ngalyawangka, tjutjukulyu, nyumpunypa, mulyakint, taanpa, pitawanku, nyulkulku//ngalyangamu, mulyangamu, wiika, wilpinpa, tjiinpa, nganytjanpa, wiilyka, ngalyataanpa, ngiingi, tjutjumanta*

crow	*kaanka, wakinka, tjakinkata, wakitata, wakurra, tarrkamungulpa, wangkiti//wangkuna, waaku, pinyingalku, waangu, waakurra*
fly	*ngurriny(pa), ngurrita, wanminypa, muungu//ngurrila, muunurrku, muunurrnurr, kurrikala*
one	*kutju, kumpinyu//tjinu, yikamata*
two	*kutjarra*
many	*pini, laltu, yannga, kunngalpa, pinyi, ari//pini, ruupa, tjuta, wiinytja*
big	*tjalu, tjuma, yuwinpa, pulka, matjuwata//matju, yakulyu*
small	*tjuku, tjukutjuku, tjapu, tjulyitjulyi, tjapuwata, tjulyi, nyamanypa// wiima, lampan, warrku, tjumpili*
good	*palya, pantirr(pa), ngalypa, kunytjunyu, walykumunu //miku, wiru*
bad	*puta, walyku//kuyamata, kanutja, kurra, kuya, panytja*
no	*wiya, paki, wingirra, munu, yipilypa//yumu, wuna, waya*
yes	*yuu, yuwa, nyamu*
black	*maru, marumaru, wamatja, wamata*
red	*mitjimitji, milyarri, yilkulyilkuly, riitwan, pilyarri, tiltilpa, laliyi//tjatjaka, minyminy, mitjilpa, yilywulyilywuly*
man	*puntu, yina, wati, kita, matu, pulku, nganpayi, tjalu, purirr*
woman	*tutju, wanti, ngilypi, wanatjarra*
father	*yina, mama, tati, tatiyi*
mother	*yipi, tilypu, mami, malatju//yakuti, ngunytju*
older brother	*papatu, kuta//pupu, pupatja*
say	*nyangu*
heard	*kulinu, kuwantanu, kurantanu//ngangkunu, yaltjurunu, yangkuranu, yangkurunu*
drank	*tjikinu, wuntunu*
ate	*ngalangu, ngalkunpa*
sat	*nyinangu, nyinangunpa, kurrnganu//pintiringarangu*
stood	*ngarangu, ngarangunpa//yikinu*
gave	*yungu, yunganya//nintinu*
shot	*yungkanu, tjuutumanu//kuntinu, tjutupungu*

3.1.9 JIGALONG MASTER

nose	*mulya, kuyali, nguyali//nyunngura, mutura*
ear	*kuranpa, pina, kulka, munata//wurrata, yanpiri*
tooth	*yirra, katiti, yanytjiwarra*
hand	*mara, marumpu, munyutu//mulkutu, mina*
boomerang	*yirrkili, walanu, kali, manti//wakunti, pirrayi*
woomera	*walparra, mangkutju, mirru, ngami, marapaku, lankurru, marapangu, tjutiltjutilpa*

house	*maya, piṉany//tawunpa, yiwala*
camp	*ngurra, yuluṉpa*
fire	*waru, kaḻa*
water	*kalyu, kapi, papa//ngapa, tjiwiri*
sky	*ngaṉka, yilkari//nguru*
sun	*tjiṉṯu, nyilpa*
moon	*wilarra, panyalpa, kiṉara//tjunitjaḻu, muun, pira, kintanyu, maanytja*
wind	*wangalpa, wilinypa, waḻpa, winu, pirriya//ngalarra, ngarruṉṯu*
night	*mungatjarra, yupunytju, mungatjarri, munga, payinpa, kunyala*
midday	*karrpu, nyilpa, katukatu//kaḻala*
north	*kayili, yalinytja, kayilirra//yalinytjarra*
south	*ngapaṯi, yulpari//yulparirra*
east	*kakarra, kakarrara*
west	*yapurra, wilura, yapurrara, yapurrkura//wilurarra*
creek	*karru, wungka, kuriki*
earth	*paṉa, putjurrpa, warirrki//manta*
track	*yiwarra, yururru, ruutu, karrukarru//palkarra, watjarr, tjina, ruurrpa*
stick	*waṯa, mungka, puṉu//ngaṉa, pilypa, watiya*
food	*mirrka, yuta, mayi, manytjirr(pa)*
dog	*tjaṉṯu, papa, wiṯa//tjutju, kunyarrpa*
meat	*kuka, kuwiyi, maṉṯu, miitpa*
cat	*tjutjukulyu, wiika, taanpa, putjiputji, winyawu, ngalyangamu, putjikatu, wilypinpa//mulyangamu, ngiingi, ngalyataaṉpa, tjiinpa, wiilyka*
crow	*kaaṉka, wakitaṯa, waaku, wakiṉka, wanguna//wangkuna, pinyingalku, waangu*
fly	*muungu, ngurrita, warrari, ngurrila, tatu, muunurrku*
one	*kutju//waratja, tjinu, yikamaṯa*
two	*kutjarra*
many	*yaṉnga, laḻṯu, piṉi, wiinytja, kuyarra//tjuṯa*
big	*matjumaṯa, matju, tjuma, yakulyu, puḻka//tjaḻu, puntu, yuwinpa*
small	*tjuku, tjukutjuku, tjulitjuli, tjapuwaṯa//nyamanypa, kuḻunpa*
good	*kunytjunyu, paṉṯirrpa, palya, ngalypa//walykumunu, miku, wiru*
bad	*walyku, puta, kuyamaṯa, kuwiyamaṯa//kurrakurra, kurra, panytja*
no	*paki, wiya, munu, pampulypa//yumu*
yes	*yuu, yuwa*
black	*maru, marumaru*
red	*mitjimitji, minyminy(pa), mitji, yilykurrpa//pilyarri, rarrpararrpa, riitwana, tiiltiilpa, tjatjaka, mitjilpa*

man	*puntu, yina, wati, kita//matu*
woman	*wanti, tjutju, minyma, wanatjarra, kungka, ngilypi //mitawa*
father	*mama, tati*
mother	*yaku, tilypu, yakuti, mami//ngunytju, yipi*
older brother	*kuta, papatu, pupu*
saw	*nyangu*
heard	*kulinu, ngangkunu//yaltjurunu, yangkuranu*
drank	*tjikinu//wuntunu*
ate	*ngalangu//ngalkunu*
sat	*nyinangu, pintiringarangu*
stood	*ng3rangu, yikinu*
gave	*yungu//nintinu*
shot	*yungkanu, tjuutumanu, pungu//kuntinu, tjutupungu, tjuutamunu*

3.1.10 WILUNA MASTER

nose	*mulya, nyunngura, mutura, tjutju//kuyali*
ear	*pina, kuran(pa), kulka, yalytjuru, munata//yanpiri, warrata, yintul, yangkura, wurrata, yankuru, matamuti*
tooth	*yirra, tjaaminytji, katiti, yanytjiwarra*
hand	*mara, munyutu, mulkutu, marumpu*
boomerang	*walanu, yirrkili, kali, pirrayi//wakunti, pirriti*
woomera	*walparra, mangkutju, marapaku, lankurru, tjutiltjutilpa //mirru, pikurru*
house	*maya, yawilypa, tawunpa//yiwala, waala, yuuwupa*
camp	*ngurra, yulunpa*
fire	*waru, kunparatji, nguyumpara//kala, kunyingarrpa*
water	*kapi, kalyu, papa, kalinyu//ngapa, tjarruru*
sky	*nganka, yilkari, wankirri//nguru*
sun	*tjintu, nyilpa, yupunytju, piya, tjituran*
moon	*wilarra, kintanyu, panyalpa, kinara, minytjil, muun(pa)//pira, tjunitjalu, muuna, kitjili, kinyarra*
wind	*pirriya, winu, wilinypa, walpa, wangalpa, karaputa, ngarruntu, ngalarra //wiinpa, karruntu, winingkarra*
night	*munga, mungatjarra, warurru, yupunytju, yupuntungka, kutuwanitji*
midday	*karrpu, nyilpakatukatu, puyulyurru//kalala*
north	*kayili, kayilirra//yalinytjarra, watalpa*
south	*yulpari, ngapati, yulparirra*
east	*kakarra, kakarrara//lukurrku*
west	*yapurra, yapurrkura//yapurru, wilurarra, wilura*
creek	*karru, wungka, kuriki*
earth	*pana, putjurrpa, manta, warirrki*
track	*yiwarra, yururru, ruutpa, tjina, watjarra, ruutu //palkarra, tjamana, ruurrpa*

stick	*wata, punu, watiya//ngana*
food	*mirrka, mayi, yuta, manytjirr(pa)*
dog	*tjantu, papa, tjutju, pupu, wita//kunyarrpa*
meat	*kuka, kuwiyi, miitpa//mantu*
cat	*tjutjukulyu, wiika, putjikatu, tjiinpa, ngiingi, mulyangamu, minyawu, ngalyataanpa, wilypinpa, ngalyangamu, putjiputji, wiilyka, nganytjanpa*
crow	*kaanka, wakitata, waaku, wakinka, waangu, pinyingalku, wangkuna*
fly	*muungu, muunurrku, ngurrita//ngurrinpa, ngurrila*
one	*kutju//tjinu, waratja, yikamata*
two	*kutjarra*
many	*yannga, laltu, pini, pininya, muunku, wiinytja//tjuta, ruupu*
big	*matju, tjuma, pulka, tjalu, yakulyu, tjukumunu, matjuwata, kangkutu, yuwinpa, pimpiri//yina, puntu*
small	*tjuku, tjukutjuku, tjapu, tjulitjuli, warrku, tjapuwata //tjumpili, nyamanypa, wiima*
good	*kunytjunyu, palya, pantirrpa, miku, walykumunu, ngalypa //kuutwanpa, wiru*
bad	*walyku, puta, panytja, kuyamata, kurrakurra*
no	*wiya, paki, yumu, munu, yumumata//waya*
yes	*yuwa, yuu*
black	*maru, marumaru*
red	*mitjimitji, minyminypa, riitwanpa, mitjilpa, pilyarri*
man	*puntu, wati, kita, yina, matu, nyalypa*
woman	*wanti, minyma, tutju, ngilypi, wanatjarra//kungka*
father	*mama, tati, mamatji, yulman*
mother	*mami, yipi, yakuti, yaku, yimi, ngunytju//maama, maminya*
older brother	*papatu, kuta, pupu*
saw	*nyangu*
heard	*kulinu, ngangkunu, yangkuranu, yaltjurunu*
drank	*tjikinu, wuntunu*
ate	*ngalangu, ngalkunu*
sat	*nyinangu, pintiringarangu*
stood	*ngarangu//yikinu, watjunu*
gave	*yungu//nintinu*
shot	*yungkanu, tjutupungu, tjuutumanu, kuntinu, pungu*

3.2 GRAMMATICAL RANGE MASTERS

Similar to the Synonym Range Master, the Grammatical Range Master combines the contributions of six to ten subjects from each centre. The most popular primary form is listed first and followed by the less popular primary form, but this is not the only first choice of the subjects. The third and fourth items indicate some of the other subjects' first choice primary forms. As with the Synonym Range Masters, the secondary or 'heard' forms are listed beyond the double slash (//) where relevant and these are not given in preferential order.

Again it is obvious some forms have been borrowed from other than Western Desert dialects, e.g. Warlpiri, Nyangamarta, Walmajarri etc., but no attempt has been made to establish the origin of each form. If the form is used, then it has become part of the spoken language, although all subjects may not have accepted it as part of their language. However, such borrowings are few in number and by far the greater number of synonymous grammatical forms belong to the Western Desert communilects under consideration.

It should be noted that the material from Ernabella and Warburton Ranges is from one speaker at each place, and is included only for comparative purposes. Because of this it is headed 'Material' rather than 'Master'.

In the interest of saving room in crowded areas of the following charts, the final suffix of the first item is not repeated but a hyphen indicates it should be understood as suffixed to each of the following items in the list of grammatical synonyms. (E.g. Giles Master 'First person plural plus ergative and exclusive' *-latju* on the first item should be understood as suffixing to each of the following items.)

A fuller description along with illustrations of the grammatical features in these lists can be found in 'The Core of Pintupi Grammar' by Hansen and Hansen, 1978.

3.2.1 ERNABELLA MATERIAL

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	*ngayu-lu*, *ngayu-lu-n̲a*
First person sing. plus object	*ngayu-nya*, *ngayu-nya-n̲i*
Second person sing. plus ergative	*nyuntu*, *nyuntu-n*
Second person sing. plus object	*nyuntu-nya*, *nyuntu-nya-nta*

First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	*nganana, nganana-la*
First person plur. plus nominative and exclusive	*nganana, nganana-la*

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	*pulanya, nyupali*
Second person dual subject	*pula*
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	—-
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	—-

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	*nyangatja//ngaatja*
Plural demonstrative	*nyanganpa-ya*

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	*palulanguru, palunyatjanu*
Different subject conjunction	*ka*

Case suffixes

Locative	*-la//-ngka*

Dative, plus plural pronoun	*tjanampa -ku*
Avoidance	*-ngkatawarra*
Accessory	*-la*

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case	*-kitja-ngku*
'Negative' plus ergative case	*-wiya-ngku, -raral-tu*
'Characteristic'	*-payi*
'Origin'	*-nguru -tjanu*
'Toward'	*-kutu*
'Along'	*-wanu//-wana*
'Associative'	*-tjarra-ngku*
'Mistakenly'	*-palku//-kukantja-lu*

Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect	*-nyangka//-nytjangka*
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	*-nytja//-rra-nytja*
Projected reason marker	*-ntjaku-tawarra//-ltjipi*
Hortative marker	*uti -nama*
Purpose marker with nominaliser	*-ntjaku*

Present tense	*-nyi*
Consecutive action marking	*-ra -rra -nu*

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & class	*ngalya kati-/kati-*
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	*ma pitja-*
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	*pu-wa*
Verb 'dig' plus la class	*tjawa-la*

Verbal aspect

Continuous	*rawa-ngku atu-nma, atu-ma*
Past continuous	*-ngi*
Future continuous	*-ma*
Intermittent continuous & past tense	*-rri-nu*
Subjunctive mood	*-nma uti, -nma*

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	*ma pitjangu*
'Toward' with motion verb	*ngalya pitjangu, pitjangu*
'Around' with motion verb	*parra pitjangu*

'Unsuccessfully'	*put̲u*
'Partially'	*arunyku, aru puulpa*
'Again'	*piruku*
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	*rawa-ngku kati, tit̲utjarra-ngku kati, tit̲u-ngku*
'Ahead' & case	*nganmany-tju*
'Quickly'	*warrpungkula pungu, wala-ngku pungu//wala-lu*

3.2.2 GILES MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	*ngayu-lu-n̲a, nganku-lu-n̲a*
First person sing. plus object	*ngayu-nya-n̲i, nganku-nya-n̲i*
Second person sing. plus ergative	*nyuntu-lu-n, nyuntu-n*
Second person sing. plus object	*nyuntu-nya-nta*
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	*ngayu-lu-latju, ngayun-tu-//ngayut̲iny-tju-, ngayuny-tju-*
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	*ngayu-lu-latju, ngayun-pa-//ngayun-nga-, ngayut̲iny-pa-*

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	*-ntapulanya, -pulanyanta, -pulanyan, -ntapula*
Second person dual subject	*-pulan, -npula*

Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	*no pron.-ngkatawarra, -lura -ngkamarra, no pron.-ngkat̲arra*
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	*no pron.-ngkatawarra, -tjanampalura -ngkamarra, no pron.-ngkat̲arra*

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	*ngaanya, ngaatja//nyangatja*
Plural demonstrative	*ngaanya-ya, ngaanpa-, ngaatjinga-, ngaakatja-*

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	*palunyanguru, palulanguru, palunyatjanu, parrinyanguru*
Different subject conjunction	*palunyangka, parrinyangka, palula*

Case suffixes

Locative	*-la, -ngka*
Dative, plus plural pronoun	*-tjanampa -ku*
Avoidance	*-ngkat̲arra, -ngkat̲awarra, -ngkamarra*
Accessory	*-ngka*

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case	*-kitja-lu, -kitja-ngku*
'Negative' plus ergative case	*-wiya-lu, -wiya-ngku, -pan̲i-, maral-tu//-punatja-*

'Characteristic'	*-payi*
'Origin'	*-nguru, -tjanu*
'Toward'	*-kutu, -tu//-ku, -kat̲i*
'Along'	*-wana//-wanu*
'Associative'	*-tjarra-lu, -kul̲u-//-winti-*
'Mistakenly'	*-kukantja-lu, -putjunu-//-karanu*

Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect	*-rra-nytja-ngka, -rra-nya-ngka, -nya-ngka //-nytja-la, -nytjany-tja*
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	*-rra-nytja, -nytja//-nytjany-pa*
Projected reason marker	*-l-tjakut̲arra, -ltjakumarra, -ltjakut̲awarra, -ltjaku//-lkut̲a, -ltjipi, ltjakut̲a*
Hortative marker	*-, -tjaku, -nytjaku*
Purpose marker with nominaliser	*-l-tjaku, -ntjaku, -lwa, -lwaranpa, -raku*
Present tense	*-rra, -in(pa), -nyi//-ni*
Consecutive action marking	*-ra -ngu -nu, -ra -rra -nu*

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & class	*kati-*
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	*ma pitja-*
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	*pu-wa*

Verb 'dig' plus la class	*tjawa-la*

Verbal aspect

Continuous	*tit̲u puwa, punga-ma*
Past continuous	*-rranytja, -ma, -ngi*
Future continuous	*-ma, -malpa//-wanpa*
Intermittent continuous & past tense	*-rrayinu, -rrinu*
Subjunctive mood	*-ma, -mara//-ngara*

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	*ma pitjangu*
'Toward' with motion verb	*pitjangu, ngalya pitjangu*
'Around' with motion verb	*parra pitjangu*
'Unsuccessfully'	*put̲u*
'Partially'	*puulpa, kulyu*
'Again'	*puru*
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	*tit̲u kati, tit̲u-lu kati*
'Ahead' & case	*kurranyu-lu kati, kurranyu kati*
'Quickly'	*warrpuwa puwa, wala-lu puwa, wala-ngku //pipurru-lu*

3.2.3 WARBURTON MATERIAL

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	*ngayu-lu-n̲a*, *nganku-lu-n̲a*
First person sing. plus object	*ngayu-nya-n̲i*, *nganku-nya-n̲i*
Second person sing. plus ergative	*nyuntu-lu-n//nyuntu-n*
Second person sing. plus object	*nyuntu-nya-nta*
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	*ngayu-lu-latju//ngayun-tu-*
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	*ngayu-lu-latju//ngayun-pa-*, *ngayun-nga*

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	*-ntapulanya*, *-pulanyanta*, *-pulanyan*, *-ntapula*
Second person dual subject	*-pulan*, *-npula*
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	*no pronoun -ngkat̲arra//-lura*
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	*no pronoun -ngkat̲arra//-tjanampalura*

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	*ngaanya*, *ngaatja//nyangatja*

Plural demonstrative	*ngaanya-ya, ngaatjin-nga-//ngaanpa-, ngaakatja-*

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	*palunyatjanu-lu, palunyanguru-, parrinyanguru-// palulanguru-*
Different subject conjunction	*palunyangka, parrinyangka//palula*

Case suffixes

Locative	*-la*
Dative, plus plural pronoun	*-tjanampa -ku*
Avoidance	*-ngkaṯarra, -ngkaṯawarra//-ngkamarra*
Accessory	*-la*

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case	*-kitja-lu//-kitja-ngku*
'Negative' plus ergative case	*-wiya-lu, -maral-tu//-wiya-ngku, -parri-*
'Characteristic'	*-payi, -payinyu*
'Origin'	*-tjanu, -nguru*
'Toward'	*-kutu, -tu, -ku//-kati*
'Along'	*-wana*
'Associative'	*-tjarra-lu//-kuḻu-, -winti-*
'Mistakenly'	*-kukantja-lu, putju-lu*

Verbal Suffixes

Different participant marker, & continuous aspect	*-rra-nya-ngka, -rra-nytja-la, -nytja-la //-nytjany-tja*
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	*-rra-nytja, -nytja*
Projected reason marker	*-ltjakut̲arra, -ltjakut̲awarra, -ltjaku //-ltjakumarra, -lkut̲a, -ltjipi*
Hortative marker	*pitja-ma*
Purpose marker with nominaliser	*-ltjaku, -ntjaku//-lwa, -lwaranpa*
Present tense	*-narra//-nin(pa), -nanyi*
Consecutive action marking	*-ra -rra -nu*

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	*kati-o*
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	*ma pitja-o*
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	*pu-wa*
Verb 'dig' plus la class	*tjawa-la*

Verbal aspect

Continuous	*tit̲u punga-ma, tit̲u puwa, pungama*
Past continuous	*-rranytja, -ngi*
Future continuous	*-ma//-malpa*

Intermittent continuous & past tense	*rrayinu//-rrinu*
Subjunctive mood	*-nma*

Verb Modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	*ma pitjangu*
'Toward' with motion verb	*pitjangu//ngalya pitjangu*
'Around' with motion verb	*parra pitjangu*
'Unsuccessfully'	*putu*
'Partially'	*puulpa pungu//kulyu pungu*
'Again'	*puru*
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	*titu katima//titu-lu kati*
'Ahead' & case	*kurranyu-lu*
'Quickly'	*wala-lu pungu, warrpuwa puwa//wala-ngku puwa*

3.2.4 PAPUNYA MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	*ngayu-lu-na, ngayu-lu*
First person sing. plus object	*ngayu-nya-ni, ngayu-lu* (nom. case)
Second person sing. plus ergative	*nyuntu-lu-n, nyuntu, nyurra-lu*
Second person sing. plus object	*nyuntu-nya-nta, nyuntu, nyurra-nya*

First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	*ngayun-tu-latju, ngayu-lu-, nganan̲atju, ngayu-lu-ngarri, ngayu-lu-latju, nganan̲angarri, ngayut̲iny-tju, ngayut̲i-lu-*
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	*ngayun-pa-latju, nganan̲atju, nganan̲a, ngayu-nya-, nganan̲a-nya, ngayu-nya-ngarri, ngayut̲in-pa, ngayut̲i-*

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	*-ntapula, nyupali*
Second person dual subject	*-pulan, pula//-npula*
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	*-lura -ngkamarra, ————ngkat̲awarra*
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	*-tjanampalura -ngkamarra, ————ngkat̲awarra*

Demonstrative

Singular demonstrative	*ngaanya, ngaatjanya, ngaatja//nyangatja*
Plural demonstrative	*ngaanpa-, ngaanya, ngaa tjut̲a-*

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	*palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, parrinyatjanu, parrinyanguru*
Different subject conjunction	*palunyangka, parrinyangka*

Case suffixes

Locative	*-ngka, -la*

Dative, plus plural pronoun	*-tjanampa -ku*
Avoidance	*-ngkamarra, -ngkat̲awarra//-ngakat̲arra*
Accessory	*-ngka, -nya, -o, -la*

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case	*-kitja-lu, -kitja-ngku*
'Negative' plus ergative case	*-wiya-lu, -wiya-ngku, -pan̲i-, maral-tu*
'Characteristic'	*-payi*
'Origin'	*-nguru, -tjanu*
'Toward'	*-kutu, -ku//-tu*
'Along'	*-wana//-wanu*
'Associative'	*-tjarra-lu, tjarra-ngku, -kul̲u-lu//-winti-lu*
'Mistakenly'	*-kukantja-lu, kukan̲u//-karanytju*

Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect	*-rra-nytja-ngka, -nytja-ngka, -nya-ngka, -nytja-la, -rra-nytja-la, -nyi-ngka//-nytjany-tja*
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	*-rra-nytja, -nytja, -ngu-tja, -nytja-tjanu, -nytja-nu//-nytjany-pa*
Projected reason marker	*-ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -ltjipi, -ltjipingka, -ltjipingkamarra, -ltjakut̲awarra//-lkut̲a, -ltjakut̲a*
Hortative marker	*-rra, -nytjaku*
Purpose marker with nominaliser	*-ntjaku, -lwa//-raku*

Present tense	*-nin(pa), -nanyi//-narra, -nanyini, -nayinpa*
Consecutive action marking	*-ra -rra -nu, -nu -ngu -nu*

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	*ngalya kati-o, ngalyati-o*
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	*ma ya-rra, ma pitja*
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	*pu-wa*
Verb 'dig' plus la class	*tjawa-la*

Verbal aspect

Continuous	*titu pungama, titu puwa*
Past continuous	*-ma, -ngi, -rranytja//-payi*
Future continuous	*-malpa, -wanpa, rawa nyinaku*
Intermittent continuous & past tense	*-rrinu, -rrayinu, -yinu*
Subjunctive mood	*-mara, -ngara*

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	*ma pitjangu, ma yanu*
'Toward' with motion verb	*ngalya pitjangu, ngalya yanu*
'Around' with motion verb	*parra yanu, parra pitjangu*

'Unsuccessfully'	*put̲u*
'Partially'	*kulyu, puulpa*
'Again'	*puru*
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	*tit̲u kati, kutu kat̲i*
'Ahead' & case	*kurranyu*
'Quickly'	*wala-lu puwa, wala-ngku puwa, pula-lu, parrpat̲u-lu, wirrurru-lu*

3.2.5 BALGO MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	*ngayu-lu-n̲a*
First person sing. plus object	*ngayu-n̲i, ngayu-nya-n̲i*
Second person sing. plus ergative	*nyuntu-lu-n*
Second person sing. plus object	*nyuntu-nta, nyuntu-nya-, nyurra-nya-*
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	*ngayun-tu-latju, ngayuny-tju-, ngayut̲i-lu// ngayut̲iny-tju-latju, ngayut̲in-tu*
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	*ngayun-pa-latju, ngayut̲i-latju, ngayuny-pa-// ngayut̲iny-pa-*

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	*-ntapula, -npulanya, -pulanyan, kutjarra-nta-pula*
Second person dual subject	*-npula, -pulan, kutjarra-npula*

Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	*-lura -ngkamarra*
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	*-tjanampalura -ngkamarra*

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	*ngaatja, ngaanya, ngaa//nyangatja*
Plural demonstrative	*ngaanpa-, ngaanya-ya, ngaatja-, ngaati, ngaakatja-ya*

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	*palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palurutjanu, palurunguru, parrinyanguru, parrunyanguru, palutjanu*
Different subject conjunction	*palunyangka, palurungka, palungka, parrinyangka, parrunyangka*

Case suffixes

Locative	*-ngka, -l-ta, -l-tja//-la*
Dative, plus plural pronoun	*-tjanampa -ku*
Avoidance	*-ngkamarra*
Accessory	*-o, -ngka*

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case	*kitja-lu*
'Negative' plus egative case	*-pani-lu, -wiya-lu, -maral-tu, maraly-tju //-punatja-lu*

'Characteristic'	*-payi*
'Origin'	*-tjanu, -nguru*
'Toward'	*-kutu, -kurra, -kati, -tu//-waka*
'Along'	*-wana*
'Associative'	*-kulu-lu, -tjarra-//-winti-*
'Mistakenly'	*-kukantja-lu, kuranytju-lu -kukanu//-karanu*

Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect	*-rra-nytja-ngka, -nytja-ngka//-nytja-la, -nytjany-tja*
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	*-nytja, -rra-nytja, -nytjanpa, -nytjanypa//-nta, -npa*
Projected reason marker	*-ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -ltjakungkamarra, -ltjakuta, -lkuta, -ltjipingka, -ltjipi, -ltjipingkamarra*
Hortative marker	*-nytjaku, -wa, -waku, -mara, -ngara, -lkuraku, -yarra*
Purpose marker with nominaliser	*-lkuwa, -ntjaku, -lkura, -lkuraku, -lkuwaku*
Present tense	*-nin(pa), -nanyin(pa), -nani, -nanyi//-narra*
Consecutive action marking	*-nu -ngu -nu//-ra -rra -nu*

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	*ngalya kati-o, katima, ngalya kawa*
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	*ma ya-rra, wuna yarra*

Verb 'hit' plus wa class	*pu-wa*
Verb 'dig' plus la class	*tjawa-la*

Verbal aspect

Continuous	*wulu pungama, wulu puwa, wululu puwa, tit̲ulu puwa*
Past continuous	*-ma, -rranytja, -payi//-ngi*
Future continuous	*-malpa, -wanpa, -ranpa*
Intermittent continuous & past tense	*-rrinu, -rrayinu//-ngunangu*
Subjunctive mood	*-mara, -ngara*

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	*ma yanu, ma pitjangu*
'Toward' with motion verb	*ngalya yanu, ngalya pitjangu*
'Around' with motion verb	*parra yanu, parra pitjangu*
'Unsuccessfully'	*put̲u*
'Partially'	*kulyu*
'Again'	*puru, witulu*
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	*wulu kati, wulutjarra kati, tit̲u kati*
'Ahead' & case	*kurranyu-lu, kurranyu*
'Quickly'	*wala-lu, pula-lu, pipurru-lu, wirrurru-lu*

3.2.6 CHRISTMAS CREEK MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	*ngayu-lu-n̲a*
First person sing. plus object	*ngayu-n̲i*, *ngayu-nya-n̲i*
Second person sing. plus ergative	*nyuntu-lu-n*
Second person sing. plus object	*nyuntu-nta*, *nyuntu-nya-nta*
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	*ngayun-tju-latju*, *ngayuny-tju-*, *ngayut̲i-lu-*, *ngayun-tu-//ngayut̲iny-tju*, *ngayuny-tju-t̲i-lu-*
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	*ngayun-pa-latju*, *ngayuny-pa-*, *ngayut̲i-//ngayut̲iny-pa-*, *ngayut̲in-pa-*

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	*-ntapula*, *-npulanya*, *-pulanyan*
Second person dual subject	*-npula*, *-pulan*
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	*-lura -ngkamarra*
Third person plur. avoidance plus case marker	*-tjanampalura -ngkamarra*

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	*ngaatja*, *ngaanya*, *ngaa//nyangatja*

Plural demonstrative	*ngaanpa-ya, ngaat̲i-, ngaanya-//ngaakatja-, ngaa*

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	*palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palutjanu //parrinyatjanu, parrinytjanguru*
Different subject conjunction	*palunyangka, palungka//parrinyangka, parrinytjangka*

Case suffixes

Locative	*-ngka, -l-ta, -l-tja//-la*
Dative, plus plural pronoun	*-tjanampa -ku*
Avoidance	*-ngkamarra*
Accessory	*-ngka, -o*

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case	*-kitja-lu*
'Negative' plus ergative case	*-pan̲i-lu, -wiya-//-punatja-, maral-tju*
'Characteristic'	*-payi*
'Origin'	*-tjanu, -nguru*
'Toward'	*-kutu, -kat̲i, -kurra//-tu, -waka, -kat̲a*
'Along'	*-wana*
'Associative'	*-kul̲u-lu, -tjarra-//-winti-*
'Mistakenly'	*-kukan̲u, -kukantja-//-karan̲u*

Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker, & continuous aspect	*-nytjany-tja, -nytjan-pa, -nytja-ngka, -rra-nytjangka,-n-pa//-nytja-la*
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	*-nytja, -nytjany(pa), -rra-nytja, -nypa//-nta*
Projected reason marker	*-ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -lkuṯa, -ltjakungkamarra// -ltjipi*
Hortative marker	*-ra, -wa, -raku, -ngara, -nytjaku, -tjaku, -waku, yarra*
Purpose marker with nominaliser	*-lkura, -lkuraku, -lkuwa, -ltjaku, -nytjaku, -lkuwaku*
Present tense	*-nin(pa), -nanyin(pa)//-nanyi, -nayin(pa), -naṉi, -narra*
Consecutive action marking	*-ṉu -ngu -nu//-ra -rra -nu*

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	*kati-o, katima, kawaṉi, ngalyati-o*
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	*ma ya-rra*
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	*pu-wa*
Verb 'dig' plus la class	*tjawa-la*

Verbal aspect

Continuous	*wulu puwa, wulu pungama, wulu-lu puwa*
Past continuous	*-ma, -payi, -rranytja//-ngi*

Future continuous	*-malpa, -ranpa//-wanpa*
Intermittent continuous & past tense	*-rrayinu, -rrinu*
Subjunctive mood	*-ngara, -mara*

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	*ma yanu, ma pitjangu*
'Toward' with motion verb	*ngalya yanu, yanuni*
'Around' with motion verb	*parra yanu*
'Unsuccessfully'	*putu*
'Partially'	*kulyu*
'Again'	*puru, witulu*
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	*wulu kati, wulu katima, titu-lu kati*
'Ahead' & case	*kurranyu-lu kati, kurranyu kati*
'Quickly'	*wala-lu puwa, pula-lu, pipurru-lu, wirrurru-lu*

3.2.7 FITZROY CROSSING MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	*ngayu-lu-na, nganku-lu-//ngatjumana*
First person sing. plus object	*ngayu-ni, ngayu-nya-, nganku-*
Second person sing. plus ergative	*nyuntu-lu-n*

Second person sing. plus object	*nyuntu-nta nyuntu-nya-*
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	*ngayun-tju-latju, ngayun-tu-, ngayuṯi-lu-, ngankuny-tju-//ngayuṯin-tju*
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	*ngayun-pa-latju, ngayun-pa-, ngayuṯi-, ngankuny-tju-//ngayuṯin-tju-*

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	*-ntapula//-npulanya*
Second person dual subject	*-npula//-pulan*
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	*-lura -ngkamarra*
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	*-tjanampalura -ngkamarra*

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	*ngaatja, ngaanya, ngaa//nyangatja*
Plural demonstrative	*ngaanpa-ya, ngaaṯi-, ngaakatja-, ngaanya-*

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	*palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palurutjanu //parrinyatjanu,parrinyanguru*
Different subject conjunction	*palunyangka//parrinyangka*

Case suffixes

Locative	*-ngka, -l-tja*
Dative, plus plural pronoun	*-tjanampa -ku*
Avoidance	*-ngkamarra*
Accessory	*-o, -ngka*

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case	*-kitja-lu*
'Negative' plus ergative case	*-paṉi-lu//-wiya-, -maraly-tju, -punatja-*
'Characteristic'	*-payi*
'Origin'	*-tjanu, -nguru*
'Toward'	*-kutu, -kaṯi, -kurra//-tu, -waka*
'Along'	*-wana*
'Associative'	*-kuḻu-lu, -tjarra-lu//-winti-*
'Mistakenly'	*kukaṉu, -kukantja-lu*

Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker, & continuous aspect	*-nytja-ngka, -nytjany-tja//-nytja-la*
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	*-nytjany(pa), -nytjan(pa), -rranytja//-nytja, -nta*
Projected reason marker	*-ltjaku(marra), -ltjakungkamarra, -lkuṯa, -lkuṯangkamarra,-ntjangkamarra//-ltjipi*
Hortative marker	*-mara, -rra, -raku//-nytjaku, -ngara, -ra, -wa, -waku*

Purpose marker with nominaliser	*-lkuraku, -lkura, -lkuwa//-nytjaku, -lkuwaku*
Present tense	*-nin(pa)//-nanyin(pa), -nan̲i, -nanyi, -narra*
Consecutive action marking	*-n̲u -ngu -nu//-ra -rra -nu*

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	*kati-o-n̲i, kawa-n̲i*
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	*ma ya-rra, ya-rra*
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	*pu-wa*
Verb 'dig' plus la class	*tjawa-la*

Verbal aspect

Continuous	*wululu pungama*
Past continuous	*-ma, -payi//-rranytja*
Future continuous	*-malpa, -ranpa, -wanpa*
Intermittent continuous & past tense	*-rrinpa, -rranytja//-rrayinu, -rrinu*
Subjunctive mood	*-mara, ngara*

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	*ma yanu, yanu*
'Toward' with motion verb	*ngalya yanu*

'Around' with motion verb	*parra yanu*
'Unsuccessfully'	*putu*
'Partially'	*kulyu*
'Again'	*witulu//puru*
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	*wulu kati, wulu-lu kati*
'Ahead' & case	*kurranyu-lu kati, kurranyu kati*
'Quickly'	*wala-lu puwa, pula-lu, wala puwa//pipurru-lu, wirrurru-lu*

3.2.8 LA GRANGE MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	*ngayu-lu-na*
First person sing. plus object	*ngayu-ni, ngayu-nya-, ngayutja-*
Second person sing. plus ergative	*nyuntu-lu-n*
Second person sing. plus object	*nyuntu-nta, nyuntu-nya*
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	*ngayuny-tju-latju, ngayuti-lu-, ngayutiny-tju-//ngayun-tu*
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	*ngayun-pa-latju, ngayuny-pa-, ngayuti-//ngayutin-pa-, ngayutiny-pa-*

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	*-npulanya, -ntapula, -ntapulanya*
Second person dual subject	*-npula//-pulan*
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	*-lura -ngkamarra*
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	*-tjanampalura -ngkamarra*

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	*-ngaanya, ngaa//ngaatja, nyangatja*
Plural demonstrative	*ngaanpa-ya, ngaakatja-, ngaanya-, ngaat̲i-, ngaanyakatja-*

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	*palunyatjanu, palunyanguru//parrinyanguru*
Different subject conjunction	*palunyangka//parrinyangka*

Case suffixes

Locative	*-ngka, -l-tja*
Dative, plus plural pronoun	*-tjanampa -ku*
Avoidance	*-ngkamarra*
Accessory	*-o, -ngka*

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case	*-kitja-lu*
'Negative' plus ergative case	*-pan̲i-lu, -punatja-lu//-wiya-, maraly-tju*
'Characteristic'	*-payi*
'Origin'	*-nguru, -tjanu*
'Toward'	*-kat̲i, -kutu//-tu, -waka, -kurra*
'Along'	*-wana*
'Associative'	*-kul̲u-lu, -winti-lu//-tjarra-lu*
'Mistakenly'	*-kukan̲u, -kukantja-lu//-karanu, -kuwantja-lu*

Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect	*-nytja-ngka, nytjany-tja//-nytja-la*
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	*-rra-nytja, -nguny-pa, -nyiny-pa//-nytja, -nytjany-pa, -nta*
Projected reason marker	*-ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -ltjakut̲a, -lkut̲a, -ltjakungkamarra, -ntjangkamarra*
Hortative marker	*-raku, -ra, -wa//-ngara, -mara, -nytjaku*
Purpose marker with nominaliser	*-ra, -raku, -wa//-ntjaku*
Present tense	*-nayin(pa), -nin(pa), -nanyin(pa), -nan̲i//-nanyi, -narra*
Consecutive action marking	*-n̲u -ngu -nu//-ra -rra -nu*

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	*kawa-n̲i, kati-o-n̲i, ngalya kati-o*
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	*ma ya-rra, ya-rra, mawu ya-rra*
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	*pu-wa*
Verb 'dig' plus la class	*tjawa-la*

Verbal aspect

Continuous	*wululu puwa, wululu pungama, punganyan puwanpa*
Past continuous	*-payi, -ma, -rranytja, -ngunpa, -nytjanypa*
Future continuous	*-malpa, -ranpa, -wanpa*
Intermittent continuous & past tense	*ngunpa, -rrayinu, -payi//-rrinu*
Subjunctive mood	*-mara, -ngara, -ra*

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	*yanu, ma yanu, mawu yanu*
'Toward' with motion verb	*yanun̲i, ngalyan̲i yanu*
'Around' with motion verb	*parra yanu*
'Unsuccessfully'	*put̲u*
'Partially'	*kulyu*
'Again'	*wituka*

'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	*wulu kawa, wulu-lu kawa, wulu-lu kati*
'Ahead' & case	*kurranyu-lu kati, kurranyu kawa*
'Quickly'	*wala-lu puwa//pula-lu, pipurru-lu, wirrurru-lu*

3.2.9 JIGALONG MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	*ngayu-lu-n̲a*
First person sing. plus object	*ngayu-n̲i//ngayu-nya-n̲i*
Second person sing. plus ergative	*nyuntu-lu-n*
Second person sing. plus object	*nyuntu-nta nyuntu-nya-*
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	*ngayuparaku-lu-latju, ngayut̲iny-tju-, ngayun-tu-, ngayuny-tju-*
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	*ngayut̲iny-pa-latju, ngayuny-pa-, ngayun-pa-*

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	*-npulanya, -ntapula*
Second person dual subject	*-npula, -pulan*
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	*-lura -ngkamarra*

Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	*-tjanampalura -ngkamarra*

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	*ngaa, ngaanya, ngapi//ngaatja, nyangatja*
Plural demonstrative	*ngaanpa-ya, ngaanya-, ngaaparaku-, ngaakatja*

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	*palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palunyatjanuyila//parrinyatjanu*
Different subject conjunction	*palunyangka, palunyangkayila//parrinyangka*

Case suffixes

Locative	*-ngka, -n-tja, -n-ta*
Dative, plus plural pronoun	*-tjanampa -ku*
Avoidance	*-ngkamarra*
Accessory	*-ngka, -tja, -o*

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case	*-kitja-lu*
'Negative' plus ergative case	*-pan̲i-lu, -punatja-lu//-wiya- -maral-tu*
'Characteristic'	*-payi*
'Origin'	*-tjanu//-nguru*

'Toward'	*-kati, -kutu//-tu, -waka*
'Along'	*-wana*
'Associative'	*-winti-lu, -kulu-//-tjarra-*
'Mistakenly'	*-kuranu, -karanu//-kukantja-lu*

Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect	*-nytja-ngka, -rra-nytja-ngka, -nta, -nytjany- tja //nytja-la*
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	*-nytjany-pa, -nta, -nytja, -rra-nytja*
Projected reason marker	*-ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -lkuta//-ltjipi*
Hortative marker	*-ngara, -rra, -nytjaku*
Purpose marker with nominaliser	*-lkura, -lkuraku//-nytjaku, -lkuwa*
Present tense	*-nani, -nin(pa)//-narra, -nanyi*
Consecutive action	*-nu -ngu -nu//-ra -rra -nu*

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	*kawani, ngalya kati-o*
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	*ya-rra, mawi ya-rra*
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	*pu-wa*
Verb 'dig' plus la class	*tjawa-la*

Verbal aspect

Continuous	*wululu puwa, wulu puwa, pungama*
Past continuous	*-payi, -ma//-rranytja*
Future continuous	*-malpa, rawa nyinaku//-wanpa*
Intermittent continuous & past tense	*-ngunangu//-rranyinu, -rrinu*
Subjunctive mood	*-ngara//-mara*

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	*ma yanu*
'Toward' with motion verb	*yanuni, ngalya yanu*
'Around' with motion verb	*parra yanu*
'Unsuccessfully'	*putu*
'Partially'	*mantanpa//kulyu*
'Again'	*yarranu, karu*
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	*wulu-lu kati, wulu kati*
'Ahead' & case	*kurranyu-lu kawa*
'Quickly'	*wala-lu puwa, pula-lu, wirrurru-lu, pini-lu, pipurru-lu*

3.2.10 WILUNA MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	*ngayu-lu-na*

First person sing. plus object	*ngayu-n̲i, ngayu-nya-*
Second person sing. plus ergative	*nyuntu-lu-n*
Second person sing. plus object	*nyuntu-nya-nta, nyuntu-*
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	*ngayun-tu-latju, ngayut̲iny-tju-, ngayuny-tju-*
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	*ngayun-pa-latju, ngayut̲iny-pa-, ngayun-nga-*

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	*-ntapula, -npulanya, -pulanyan, -ntapulan, -pulanta, -ntapulanya*
Second person dual subject	*-npula, -pulan*
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	*-lura -ngkamarra*
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	*-tjanampalura -ngkamarra*

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	*ngaanya, ngaatja, ngaa//nyangatja*
Plural demonstrative	*ngaa-ya, ngaakatja-, ngaanpa-, ngaaparaku-*

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	*palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palutjanu, parrinyatjanu, palunyatjanuyilampa*

Different subject conjunction	*palunyangka palungka//parrinyangka* *palunyangkayilampa*

Case suffixes

Locative	*-ngka, -l-tja, -n-ta//-la*
Dative, plus plural pronoun	*-tjanampa -ku, tjanaku*
Avoidance	*-ngkamarra*
Accessory	*-ngka, -o*

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case	*-kitja-lu*
'Negative' plus ergative case	*-pani-lu, -punatja-//-wiya-, maral-tu, maal-tu*
'Characteristic'	*-payi*
'Origin'	*-tjanu, -nguru*
'Toward'	*-kati, -kutu//-tu, -waka*
'Along'	*-wana*
'Associative'	*-kulu-lu, -winti-//-tjarra-*
'Mistakenly'	*-kukantja-lu, -karanu//-kukanu*

Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect	*-rra-nytja-ngka, -nytja-ngka, -nta-ngka,* *-rra-nya-ngka, -nya-ngka//-nytja-la*
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	*-rra-nytja, -nytja, -nta, -nytjan(pa)*
Projected reason marker	*-ltjakumarra, -lkuta, -ltjaku//-lkutangka, -ltjipi*

Hortative marker	*-nytjaku, -waku, -ra, -wa//-ngara, -mara, -raku*
Purpose marker with nominaliser	*-lwaku, -lkuraku, -nytjaku*
Present tense	*-nin(pa), -nan(pa)-, -nan̲i, -narra//-nanyi*
Consecutive action marking	*-n̲u -ngu -nu//-ra -rra -nu*

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	*kati-o-n̲i, kati-o, ngalya kati-o, kangan̲i*
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	*ya-rra, mawi ya-rra, ma yarra*
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	*pu-wa, punga*
Verb 'dig' plus la class	*tjawa-la*

Verbal aspect

Continuous	*wululu puwa, wulu pungama, wululu punga, wululu puwayinpa*
Past continuous	*-rranytja, -ma, -payi*
Future continuous	*-malpa, -wanpa, -kuyin(pa), -kuwin(pa)*
Intermittent continuous & past tense	*-rrayinu, -payi//-rrinu*
Subjunctive mood	*-ngara//-mara*

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	*ma yanu, mawu yanu, mawi yanu*

'Toward' with motion verb	*ngalyani yanu, ngalya pitjangu*
'Around' with motion verb	*parra yanu*
'Unsuccessfully'	*putu*
'Partially'	*mantan//kulyu*
'Again'	*yarranu//puru*
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	*wulu-lu kawa, titu kati*
'Ahead' & case	*kurranyu-lu kawa, kurranyu tjalkangu*
'Quickly'	*wala-lu puwa, pula-lu, pini-lu, wirrun-tu, wirrurru-lu, pipurru-lu*

3.3 AVERAGE STORY GRADINGS

Full understanding of each of the three stories from Jigalong could have gained the subject 30 points. Similarly full understanding of the three stories from Papunya could have gained the subject 30 points. Instead of setting out the points for each subject I have averaged the points gained by each subject and given an average point score for each community in their understanding of Martu Wangka and Pintupi stories. Papunya Pintupi subjects and Jigalong Martu Wangka subjects were not tested on their own stories. We assumed full understanding and have allotted full points to speakers from both those centres.

Centre	Martu Wangka		Pintupi	
Giles	23.8	79.3%	28.8	96%
Papunya	20.0	66.6%	30.0	100%
Balgo	27.5	91.6%	29.4	98%
Christmas Creek	28.5	95%	29.3	97.6%
Fitzroy Crossing	27.7	92.3%	28.8	96%
La Grange	28.0	93.3%	25.9	86.3%
Jigalong	30.0	100%	29.0	96.6%
Wiluna	28.0	93.3%	27.9	93%

3.4 COMMUNILECT AND DIALECT TERMS

To gain an understanding of how Aborigines define the Western Desert dialect which they speak, we carried out a simple test with most subjects, the exceptions being the subjects from Wiluna and Jigalong. We would play the Martu Wangka stories from Jigalong and the Pintupi stories from Papunya, without saying the name of the speaker or the name of the dialect he was using. During questions on these stories we would casually ask what language the person was speaking on the tape. To this question we got a variety of answers. Chart 2 is a listing of answers received at each centre.

CHART 2

Centre	Martu Wangka Stories	Pintupi Stories
Giles (Ngaatjatjarra)	Martu Wangka Martu Wiitja Mantjiltjarra Jigalong Wangka	Ngaatjatjarra Ngaatja Wangka Pintupi, like Ngaatjatjarra Pitjanytjatjarra/ Ngaatjatjarra
Papunya (Pintupi)	Ngulyu Wangkatjarra Matukatja Wangka Purruku Wangkatjarra Putitjarra Wangka Waritja	Pintupi
Balgo (Kukatja)	Kartutjarra Mantjiltjarra Nyanitjarra Purrkutjarra Kukatja Kartutjarra/Kukatja/ Wangkatjungka Putitjarra Martu Wangka	Mantjiltjarra/Pintupi Kukatja Mantjiltjarra Kukatja/Wangkatjungka Pintupi Kukatja/Pintupi/Pitjapitja ngayuku wangka 'my own talk'
Christmas Creek (Wangkatjungka)	Wangkatjungka Kartutjarra/Wangkatjungka Kartutjarra/Nyanitjarra/ Putitjarra Wangkatjungka/Kartutjarra Kukatja Yulparitja	Wangkatjungka Yulparitja Mantjiltjarra Kukatja Pitjapitja/Pintupi Kukatja/Pintupi Pitjanytjatjarra/Kukatja

Fitzroy Crossing (Wangkatjungka)	-------	Mantjiltjarra Kukatja Yulparitja/Mantjiltjarra/Kukatja Wangkatjungka
La Grange (Yulparitja)	-------	Kukatja

Although the data is not complete, there is sufficient evidence to indicate a confusion in assessing a dialect or communilect term. It will be noticed that some subjects at most centres identified both Pintupi and Martu Wangka stories as being in their own local dialects. Then, too, others realised they were not their own local dialect but identified them with adjacent or more distant communilect terms. In general, as all of these communilects have a great deal of overlap in vocabulary and grammatical forms, it is difficult for a subject to distinguish by linguistic clues alone the communilect of the speaker on the tape. Once the subject was told where the speaker lives then he could accurately assign a communilect term to the speaker's language. This is strong evidence that communilect terms are more defined by a location (i.e. recognition of a group of speakers belonging to one general area, a settlement or a station), rather than linguistic differences. Some linguistic clues identify speakers from certain communilects but larger amounts of data would be needed to describe these.

4. RESULTS: DEGREE OF COMMUNICABILITY

The broad results of this survey indicate a high level of communicability between speakers of the Western Desert dialects. The evidence for this is given below in terms of percentages between selected centres and all others in the Western Desert area.

4.1 STORY TESTING

Taking the results of the story gradings (3.3) and questions about communilect and dialect terms (3.4), I find the percentage of communication between subjects at each centre is very high. The average points gained for each centre have been converted into a percentage of the whole possible score. The following percentages in Chart 3 are indicating the average degree of communication of the subjects from any one centre, who heard the Martu Wangka and Pintupi stories.

CHART 3
STORY COMMUNICATION PERCENTAGE

Centre	Martu Wangka Stories	Pintupi Stories
Giles	79%	96%
Papunya	66%	100%
Balgo	91%	98%
Christmas Creek	95%	97%
Fitzroy Crossing	92%	96%
La Grange	95%	86%
Jigalong	100%	96%
Wiluna	93%	93%

These very high percentages reflect the extensive understanding between speakers of communilects in the Western Desert. Communication percentages using only the primary synonyms and grammatical forms indicate a lower but significantly high percentage of communication.

4.2 SYNONYMS AND GRAMMATICAL FORMS

Although the story communication percentages would seem a good method of determining communicability with other communilects, I feel the communication of younger than middle age members of each community is not measured adequately by that method in this survey. Such speakers of the communilects do not have the extensive range of understanding of synonyms. They tend to know only those used on the settlement, as this has been the limit of their language learning experience. For this reason I believe the following percentages based on the Synonym Range masters and Grammatical Range masters are more accurate from a total communilect point of view, as they reflect the current communication situation. For the remainder of this paper all communication percentages referred to will be based on the Synonym Range and Grammatical Range masters, and not on the story material.

To determine the spoken communication percentage with each centre (e.g. of Papunya communilect), I took the first choice item of the Papunya Synonym Range Master and compared it with the primary synonyms of the same item from each other master. If that Papunya synonym was contained in the primary synonyms from another centre, no point was deducted. If that Papunya synonym was not contained in the primary synonyms of another centre, then that centre's possible total of points was reduced by one. This was done for each item in the Papunya Synonym Range Master and so resulted in a listing of negative points against each centre as it related to Papunya. The total number of points awardable for each centre was one for each of the 54 vocabulary items. For instance in relationship to Papunya, Giles ended up with a deduction of three points giving a Giles total of 51 points. This was converted to a percentage 51 ÷ 54 x 100 = 94% A similar method was followed for the Grammatical Range Masters.

4.3 ANALYSIS OF FOUR SELECTED CENTRES

To reduce the number of charts, communication percentages are given which relate to only four centres.

4.3.1 PAPUNYA

As one of the initial aims of this survey was to establish the level of communicability between Papunya communilect and those used in other centres, Chart 4 illustrates these communication percentages, based on the method outlined in 4.2. The final communication percentage in the fourth column is an average of the synonym range and grammatical range percentages.

CHART 4
PERCENTAGE OF COMMUNICABILITY OF PAPUNYA WITH OTHERS

Centre	Synonym Range	Grammatical Range	Final Communication
Giles	94%	98%	96%
Balgo	94%	96%	95%
Christmas Creek	87%	90%	88%
Fitzroy Crossing	83%	84%	83%
La Grange	81%	75%	79%
Jigalong	83%	75%	79%
Wiluna	85%	84%	84%

4.3.2 JIGALONG

Another aim was to establish the level of communicability between Jigalong communilect and those used in other centres. Chart 5 indicates these percentages.

CHART 5

PERCENTAGES OF COMMUNICABILITY OF JIGALONG WITH OTHERS

Centre	Synonym Range	Grammatical Range	Final Communication
Giles	72%	55%	63%
Papunya	70%	57%	63%
Balgo	81%	76%	78%
Christmas Creek	85%	80%	82%
Fitzroy Crossing	77%	76%	76%
La Grange	96%	84%	90%
Wiluna	98%	90%	94%

4.3.3 CHRISTMAS CREEK

Christmas Creek is approximately halfway between Papunya and Jigalong in the north. Chart 6 indicates percentages based on this centre.

CHART 6

PERCENTAGES OF COMMUNICABILITY OF CHRISTMAS CREEK WITH OTHER CENTRES

Centre	Synonym Range	Grammatical Range	Final Communication
Giles	77%	84%	80%
Papunya	81%	88%	84%
Balgo	98%	96%	97%
Fitzroy Crossing	98%	88%	93%
La Grange	92%	88%	90%
Jigalong	81%	84%	82%
Wiluna	85%	92%	88%

4.3.4 GILES

Giles is approximately halfway between Papunya and Jigalong in the south. Chart 7 indicates communication percentages based on this centre.

CHART 7
PERCENTAGE OF COMMUNICABILITY OF GILES WITH OTHERS

Centre	Synonym Range	Grammatical Range	Final Communication
Papunya	90%	80%	85%
Balgo	83%	67%	75%
Christmas Creek	79%	65%	72%
Fitzroy Crossing	72%	53%	62%
La Grange	74%	57%	65%
Jigalong	79%	50%	64%
Wiluna	87%	63%	75%

4.3.5 AN ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS

Because of the linguists' and educators' erroneous tendency to think of each communilect as one dialect, having one word for each object in the language and one verb for each action, I have indicated another percentage in the following chart which recognises only the first choice synonym in each master from each centre. For instance to determine the Papunya first choice synonym percentages with other centres, I compared the first choice synonym of Papunya with the first choice synonym of each other centre. If the synonym is different I deducted 1 point. If it is the same the possible total of points for that centre remains unchanged. Going through each item in the Synonym Range Masters deducting points where they differ from the Papunya master, I arrived at a total number of points for each centre. These are then converted to a percentage. The percentages from this method are displayed in chart 8 to show what a low and inaccurate percentage results.

CHART 8
PERCENTAGES OF PAPUNYA WITH OTHER CENTRES

	Synonym Range	Percentages	Grammatical Range	
Centre	First Synonym Only	With Other Synonyms	First Synonym Only	With Other Synonyms
Giles	74%	94%	59%	98%
Balgo	72%	94%	67%	96%
Christmas Creek	62%	87%	57%	90%
Fitzroy Crossing	66%	83%	57%	84%
La Grange	59%	81%	48%	75%
Jigalong	53%	83%	38%	75%
Wiluna	59%	85%	51%	84%

To obtain the final percentage of communication I combined the Synonym Range percentage with the Grammatical Range percentage and produced an average percentage of the two displayed in Chart 9. The average first choice percentage is given for interest sake.

CHART 9
COMBINED COMMUNICATION PERCENTAGES

Centre	First Choice Item Only	With Other Synonyms
Giles	66%	96%
Balgo	69%	95%
Christmas Creek	59%	88%
Fitzroy Crossing	61%	83%
La Grange	53%	78%
Jigalong	45%	79%
Wiluna	55%	84%

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1 CLOSELY RELATED COMMUNILECTS

Although satisfied that the synonym and grammatical range method is reflecting an accurate measure of communication, I am aware that little testing of differences in discourse types and figurative speech is included in these results. In each community tested there was obviously a difference in the older, middle aged and young adult language usage. This observation is also based on our knowledge of Papunya and surrounding communities. The older generation use the more traditional, complicated, grammatical forms derived from their language experience in the bush. Their range of understanding of other synonyms and other parallel grammatical forms is extensive. The middle aged group use some of the older generation's synonyms and forms, but are more influenced in their spoken language by the present day linguistic pressures. Those who had their language acquisition period (i.e. from 4 to 12 years of age) in the bush, however, still use many synonyms and grammatical forms from there and they undoubtedly hear the complexities of the older people's speech clearly. The young adult group who had their language acquisition period on the settlement speak a less complicated form, using a limited number of synonyms with numerous English adaptations and borrowings. Young adults, particularly after marriage, tend to adopt the middle aged forms of the area in which they reside, rather than continuing in the children's speech fashions and forms. Thus there is a variation in the speech of each community although the community is known as speaking a single communilect i.e., Kukatja, Yulparitja etc.

Although there is special women's ceremonial speech etc., the language of the men and women of the same age group differs little in the camp situation. Close relationship speech and men's ceremonial speech are not controlled to the same extent by all age groups.

For the purpose of this survey I consider any percentage above 88% in the charts from Section 4.3 as a high percentage of communicability. Any percentage above 80% is considered a medium level of communicability, and any percentage below 80% is considered a low level of communicability.

Among the communities tested, adjacent and second adjacent communities often have a high degree of communicability i.e. 88% plus. 'Adjacent centre' is used here to refer only to the centres tested in the survey. For example, Papunya is adjacent to Balgo even though Yuendumu is between, and second adjacent would be Christmas Creek even though Lake Gregory is between, since Yuendumu and Lake Gregory were not surveyed. This implies that any written or taped language material prepared in one communilect can be understood well up to two surveyed communities away. While such materials may be understood, they may not be adopted as belonging to that community when people realise the location of their origin. On the other hand, if positive social attitudes exist between Aborigines of the centres in question, reinforced by a good deal of inter-community visiting, such materials may well be quite acceptable—particularly if their origin is not continually emphasised by the use of a communilect name (e.g. printed on the cover or label). It must be emphasised here that what is meant by good or bad relations between the Aborigines of one centre and another is often not the same for Aborigines as it is for Europeans working at those centres. Aborigines from one centre in some sort of trouble with European law are often dubbed by Europeans from another community as 'bad people'. If strong relationships and frequent visiting occurs between the Aborigines of those communities, then the local Aborigines' attitude may be quite open and accepting, although they will often criticise the other community in the presence of the ill-disposed European.

Implications of this are that one cannot predict the acceptability of written materials produced in one communilect, and passed on to another community. It would be useful to have written materials produced in each communilect and exchanged between adjacent and second adjacent communities to test their acceptability. This refers to written material produced by Aborigines with natural Aboriginal concepts. It is evident from our experience that Aboriginal-authored stories concerning unusual experiences in the European world do not communicate as well as those which describe Aboriginal concepts. Information translated from other cultures, European or Biblical, does not communicate as well as material expressed in indigenous concepts. However, once some of the

European or Biblical concept terminology is learned in the adjacent or second adjacent communilect, communication can be adequate. This communication is more complete when the translation is idiomatic rather than literal.

In producing written material for any one communilect it is impractical to produce the one story book in 30 or 40 different versions adjusting each version as closely as possible to each family dialect. As each of the family dialect differences are understood by each other family, the version produced by a member of one family dialect will communicate to all others. In producing a larger work, i.e. series of books, it would be most useful to have people from a number of family dialects involved in the production. In this way the document will be accepted as more representative of the total communilect in that centre.

In conclusion, Mantjiltjarra at Wiluna, Martu Wangka/Mantjiltjarra at Jigalong, Yulparitja at La Grange, Wangkatjunga at Fitzroy Crossing and Christmas Creek, Kukatja at Balgo, Pintupi/Luritja at Papunya and Ngaatjatjarra at Giles are all closely related communilects. Adjacent and second adjacent survey centres usually have a very high degree of communicability especially for the middle aged groups. (The younger adult groups' responses are not well documented in our data). The percentage figure of communication is reduced between centres at a greater distance from each other, and between centres having limited social and ceremonial interaction e.g. Papunya and Jigalong.

It is noted that older people in each centre who acquired their language in the 'bush' have a very high understanding of the communilects used in each other centre. This is particularly so with written or recorded material using natural Aboriginal concepts. Expressions developed in other centres to explain European culture and Christian concepts naturally have a lower communication level with the older generation.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OTHER SURVEYS

When carrying out a communicability survey such as this on communilects or dialects, more than 12 subjects from each community may be advisable. It would be best, if possible, to arrange a representative from each major extended family including balanced numbers of young and old, as well as male and female. The representative aspect in choosing subjects is more important than greater numbers of subjects. Twelve subjects from only two extended families in the community would be inadequate in formulating the extent of vocabulary and grammatical forms used in a particular centre.

It would be ideal to carry out a preliminary visit to each community, gathering local stories, and establishing as wide a range of synonyms and grammatical forms as possible. Such material could then be used in the basic synonym and grammatical form check lists, to serve as a basis for checking the range of hearing of synonyms and grammatical forms.

If a story testing method is used I suggest six stories plus any others from adjacent communities would be a managable number of stories. There should be stories in narrative, expository and hortatory discourse types. Of course the more communities being compared with each other, the greater number of stories each subject would need to respond to. Because of that, the story testing method should be used with only a limited number of communities. The story testing method is particularly suitable to a group of dialects in the normally accepted use of the word. However, I believe the synonym and grammatical form range lists are more useful with regard to a complex situation such as we have in the Western Desert.

It would seem by the nature of the sociolinguistic development of present day Aboriginal languages that we are dealing with communilects rather than dialects, wherever a great number of families and extended families is living together in one community. Therefore, I recommend that the synonym and grammatical range method be used in measuring communicability in such situations.

In future surveys inclusion of expository and hortatory discourse types, as well as idioms and figurative speech, would broaden the data base and increase the value of the survey.

APPENDIX. COMBINED MASTERS OF ALL COMMUNITIES

To assist in the comparison of individual items on the Synonym Range charts from each community we have combined the results from Section 3 in this composite listing. We include only six synonyms from each centre which usually covers the primary synonyms. In some cases a couple of secondary synonyms are included if the primary synonyms do not fill the six available positions. The primary synonyms are on the left of the mark (//) and the secondary synonyms to the right.

Considering only the centres visited the most common synonym is determined and placed at the top of each listing as the common Northern Western Desert term, abbreviated as C.N.

A.1 COMBINED SYNONYM RANGE MASTERS

'nose' C.N. mulya

Ern	mulya					
Gil	mulya	nyunngura//	nyurrkuta	mutura	mutara	nguyali
WR	mulya	nyunngura	mutura//	nguyali		
Pap	mulya	nyunngura	nguyali	kuyali//	tjutju	mutara
Bal	mulya	nyunngura	nguyali	pantilpantil//	tjutju	nyurrkura
CC	mulya	nguyali	punulpa	nyunngura	pantilpantil	nyurrkuta
FC	mulya	punulpa	nyunngura	pantirrpantirr//	pantilpantilpa	kuyali
LG	mulya	pantilpantil	kuyali	nguyali	milya	nyurrngura
Jig	mulya	kuyali	nguyali//	nyunngura	mutura	
Wil	mulya	nyunngura	mutura	tjutju//	kuyali	

'ear' C.N. pina

Ern	pina	anpiri				
Gil	pina	yanpiri	yangkuru//	pila	kuranpa	kulka
WR	pina	yanpiri	yangkuru			
Pap	pina	yanpiri	langa	munata	kurupa//	kurrata
Bal	pina	langa	kuranpa	kulka	yanpiri	yangkuru
CC	pina	yirrul(pa)	yankuru	kulilkulilpa	yiyurr	munata
FC	pina	kulilkulilpa	langa	munata	yangkuru//	kuranpa
LG	munata	kulilkulilpa	kulka	kuran(pa)	pina//	yangkuru
Jig	kuranpa	pina	kulka	munata//	wurrata	yanpiri
Wil	pina	kuran(pa)	kulka	yalytjuru	munata//	yanpiri

'tooth' C.N. katiti

Ern	katiti					
Gil	katiti	yirra	yanytjiwarra//			
WR	katiti	yanytjiwarra				
Pap	katiti	yirra	yirraputa	yanytjiwarra//		
Bal	katiti	watura	yirra	lirra	yanytjiwarra	
CC	katiti	yirra	lirra	tjaaminytji	yanytjiwarra	watura
FC	yirra	tjaaminytji	katiti	yanytjiwarra//		
LG	yirra	katiti	yanytjiwarra//			
Jig	yirra	katiti	yanytjiwarra//			
Wil	yirra	tjaaminytji	katiti	yanytjiwarra//		

'hand' C.N. mara

Ern	mara	manyirrka	mulkut̲u		
Gil	mara	mulkut̲u	manyirrka//	munyutu	
WR	mara	mulkut̲u	manyirrka	munyutu	
Pap	mara	munyut̲u	manyirrka	munytjunpa//	marumpu
Bal	mulkut̲u	mara	marumpu	munyutu	kurrapa
CC	marumpu	mara	mulkut̲u	kurrapa	mal̲a//	munyutu
FC	mara	kurrapa	marumpu	mulkut̲u//	munyutu	
LG	mara	kurrapa	mapirr(pa)	munyut̲u//	kulkut̲u	
Jig	mara	marumpu	munyutu//	mulkut̲u	mina	
Wil	mara	munyutu	mulkut̲u	marumpu//		

'boomerang' C.N. kal̲i

Ern	kal̲i					
Gil	kal̲i	yirrkili	pumiringi	kampayiki	tjarangkalpa//	pirrayi
WR	kal̲i	yirrkili	pumiringi	walanu		
Pap	kal̲i	pirrayi	yirrkili	pumaringi//		
Bal	kal̲i	pirrayi	yirrkili	wal̲anu	tjul̲upal̲i	kunanturu
CC	kal̲i	pirrayi	yirrkili	warraka	paralyi	walampa
FC	kal̲i	tjinypa	yipapalypa	paltjarrangu//	yirrkili	warraka
LG	kal̲i	yirrkili	paralyi	tjarangkarr	yarankarrpa	warraka//
Jig	yirrkili	walan̲u	kal̲i	man̲t̲i//	wakun̲t̲i	pirrayi
Wil	wal̲anu	yirrkili	kal̲i	pirrayi//	wakun̲t̲i	pirriti

'Woomera' C.N. mirru

Ern	mirru//	lankurru	pikurru			
Gil	mirru	lankurru//	pikurru	wal̲parra	mangkutju	marapaku
WR	mirru	lankurru				
Pap	mirru	lankurru	pikurru	tjut̲iltjut̲ilpa//	tal̲kawitan̲pa	mangkutju
Bal	mirru	lankurru	pikirri	pikurru	mangkutju	tjut̲ilpa
CC	lankurru	pikurru	mirru	wal̲parra	marapaku	ngapaliny
FC	marapaku	lankurru	pikurru	mirru	kunanturu//	mangkutju
LG	wal̲parra	marapaku	mangkutju	mirru	lankurru	pikurru
Jig	wal̲parra	mangkutju	mirru	ngami	marapaku	lankurru
Wil	wal̲parra	mangkutju	marapaku	lankurru	tjut̲iltjut̲ilpa//	mirru

'house' C.N. maya

Ern	wali	yiwal̲a//	waal̲a			
Gil	tawunpa	yiwal̲a//	waal̲a	yawilypa	maya	
WR	tawunpa	yiwal̲a				
Pap	waal̲a	tjitipayina	yiwal̲a	tawunpa	wali//	marru
Bal	marru	mayaru	waal̲a	yawutjupa	yiwal̲a//	yawi
CC	mayaru	marru	maya	yiwal̲i	mangkatja	kanatja//
FC	mayaru	yawutji	maya	yiwal̲i//	tawunpa	yawilypa
LG	maya	yayanpa	tawunpa//	yiwal̲a	yawilypa	
Jig	maya	pan̲any//	tawunpa	yiwal̲a		
Wil	maya	yawilypa	tawunpa//	yiwal̲a		

'camp' C.N. ngurra

Ern	ngurra				
Gil	ngurra	pintiri	yulun̲pa//		
WR	ngurra	pintiri			
Pap	ngurra	pintiri	taku		
Bal	ngurra	pintiri	yulun̲pa	tjuluny	
CC	ngurra	pintiri	yulun̲pa		
FC	ngurra	rurrngu	tjunpurrpa//	yul̲un̲pa	pintiri
LG	ngurra//	pan̲a	yulun̲pa	pintiri	
Jig	ngurra	yulun̲pa//			
Wil	ngurra	yulun̲pa			

'fire' C.N. waru

Ern	waru	kunparatji				
Gil	waru	kunparatji	kunyingarrpa//	kunparrpa	kala	
WR	waru	kunpararrtji	kunparrpa			
Pap	waru	kunparatji	kunyingarrpa//	kala		
Bal	waru	kunparatji	walu	tjangilyan	nguyumparra//	kunyingarrpa
CC	waru	walu	kunparatji	tjangilyan	ngunyumparra//	wanali
FC	waru	walu	wanali//	kunparatji	kala	kunyingarrpa
LG	waru	kala	tjungku	kunparatji//	walu	wika
Jig	waru	kala				
Wil	waru	kunparatji	nguyumparra//	kala	kunyingarrpa	

'water' C.N. kapi

Ern	mina	kumpuli	kapi//	tjiwiri	ngapa	
Gil	kapi	kalyu//	tjiwiri	tjarruru	yila	ngapa
WR	kapi//	kalyu				
Pap	kapi	kalyu	tjiwiri	tjarruru	mina	yila
Bal	kapi	kalyu	tjiwiri	tjarruru	ngapa	yila
CC	kalyu	kapi	ngapa	yila	tjarruru//	tjiwiri
FC	kalyu	kapi	ngapa//	tjarruru	papa	tjiwiri
LG	kalyu	kapi	papa	ngapa//	tjiwiri	tjarruru
Jig	kalyu	kapi	papa//	ngapa	tjiwiri	
Wil	kapi	kalyu	papa	kalinyu//	ngapa	tjarruru

'sky' C.N. nganka

Ern	yilkari			
Gil	yilkari	nganka	nguru//	yalkiri
WR	yilkari			
Pap	nganka	yilkari	nguru//	
Bal	nganka	nguru	yalkiri	yilkari
CC	yalkiri	nganka	nguru//	yilkari
FC	nganka	yalkiri	yalkari//	nguru
LG	nganka//	yilkari		
Jig	nganka	yilkari//	nguru	
Wil	nganka	yilkari	wankirri//	nguru

'sun' C.N. tjintu

Ern	tjintu	tjirirrpi//				
Gil	tjintu	nyilpa//	yupunytju			
WR	tjintu	yupunytju	nyilpa			
Pap	tjintu	yupunytju	kuli	piya//	nyanyi	tjirirrpi
Bal	tjintu	yupunytju	kuli	nyilpa	ngililpa//	purangu
CC	tjintu	purangu	yupunytju	ngilirrpa	ngililpa	tjila//
FC	tjintu	purangu//	ngilil(pa)	yupunytju	piya	nyilpa
LG	tjintu	karrpu	purangu//	nyilpa	piya	yupunytju
Jig	tjintu	nyilpa//				
Wil	tjintu	nyilpa//				

'moon' C.N. wilarra

Ern	pira	kinara				
Gil	kinara	pira	kitjili	kilara//	muunpa	maanytja
WR	kinara	pira	kitjili	muunpa		
Pap	kinara	tjakilinpa	maanytja	pira//	kirrinytji	panyalpa
Bal	yakan(pa)	panyalpa	kirrinytji	tjakilinpa	wilarra	tjunitjalu
CC	yakan(pa)	panyalpa	tjakilinpa	kinara	wilarra//	tjunitjalu
FC	yakan	panyalpa	wilarra	tatata//	kinara	muun
LG	wilarra	panyalpa	yakan	tatata	kirriti	tjunitjalu//
Jig	wilarra	panyalpa	kinara//	tjunitjalu	muun	pira
Wil	wilarra	kintanyu	panyalpa	kinara	minytjil	muun(pa)

'wind' C.N. walpa

Ern	walpa	pirriya	kakarrata//			
Gil	pirriya	walpa	wiinpa	wilinypa	ngarruntu	winu
WR	pirriya	walpa	wiinpa	wilinypa		
Pap	walpa	ngalarra	wilinypa	ngarruntu	pirriya	wanganpa
Bal	walpa	ngalarra	wilinypa	mayawuny	tjutuly//	nguminu
CC	walpa	mayawun(pa)	ngalarra	wangalpa	ngarruntu	wangarr(pa)
FC	walpa	ngalarra	wangal(pa)	mayawuny	winta//	pirriya
LG	wangalpa	walpa	ngalarra	wilinypa	wiinpa	pirriya//
Jig	wangalpa	wilinypa	walpa	winu	pirriya//	ngalarra
Wil	pirriya	wiinu	wilinypa	walpa	wangalpa	karaputa

'night' C.N. munga

Ern	munga					
Gil	munga	warurru				
WR	munga	payinpa				
Pap	munga	warurru	payilpa	payinpa//		
Bal	munga	mungatjarra	warurru	wurrulytju	payinta//	
CC	mungatjarra	munga	warurru	payinpa//	yupunytju	pukanytja
FC	munga	mungatjarra	warurru	pukanytja//	yupunytju	
LG	mungatjarra	munga//	warurru	yupunytju		
Jig	mungatjarra	yupunytju	mungatjarri	munga	payinpa	kunyala//
Wil	munga	mungatjarra	warurru	yupunytju	yupuntungka	kutuwanitji//

'midday' C.N. karrpu

Ern	kalala				
Gil	kalala	tinatayimi	nyilpakatukatu//	karrpu	
WR	kalala	tinatayimi//	karrpu		
Pap	karrpu	kalala//	nyilpakatukatu		
Bal	karrpu	kurutjurrku	kalala	wanta	tjintukankarrarringu
CC	karrpu	karrpuwati//	nyilpakatukatu	kalala	
FC	karrpu	karrpuwati	kumanta	tjiningara	kankarra pakanu// nyilpakatukatu
LG	karrpu	karrpuwati	rukaruka//	kalala	nyilpakatukatu
Jig	karrpu	nyilpakatukatu	puyulyurru//	kalala	
Wil	karrpu	nyilpakatukatu	puyulyurru//	kalala	

'north' C.N. kayili

Ern	alinytjarra	kayili//				
Gil	kayili	yalinytjarra//	kayilirra			
WR	kayili	yalinytjarra//	kayilirra			
Pap	kayili	yalinytjarra//	kayilirra			
Bal	kayili	yalinytjarra	kayilirra	yalinytja	yalinykatinytja	
CC	kayili	kayirrara	kayilingu//	yalinytjarra	yalinytja	kayilirra
FC	kayili	kayirra	nyankantal//	yalinytja	yalinytjarra	kayilirra
LG	kayili	yalinytja	yalinytjarra//	kayilirra	kayiliwarraku	
Jig	kayili	yalinytja	kayilirra//	yalinytjarra		
Wil	kayili	kayilirra//	yalinytjarra	watalpa		

'south' C.N. yulparirra

Ern	ulparirra	uwarirra				
Gil	yulparirra//	yulpari				
WR	yulparirra//	yulpari				
Pap	yulparirra//	ngapati	yulparita			
Bal	yulparirra	yulpari	ngapati//			
CC	yulparirra	kulirra	ngawarrara	ngapati	yulpari	
FC	yulparirra	kulila	kulirra	ngawarrara//	yulpari	ngapati
LG	yulparirra	ngapati	ngawarrara//	yulpari	kulila	
Jig	ngapati	yulpari//	yulparirra			
Wil	yulpari	ngapati	yulparirra//			

'east' C.N. kakarra

Ern	kakarrara			
Gil	kakarrara	kakarra	katalku//	lukurrku
WR	kakarrara//	kakarra	katalku	
Pap	kakarrara	kakarra//	lukurrku	
Bal	kakarra	kakarrara	lukurrku//	
CC	kakarra	lukurrku//	kakarrara	lukurr(pa)
FC	kakarra//	kakarrara		
LG	kakarra//	kakarrara	lukurrku	
Jig	kakarra	kakarrara//		
Wil	kakarra	kakarrara//	lukurrku	

'west' C.N. yapurra

Ern	wilurarra	wiwurarra			
Gil	yapurra	wilurarra	yapurrkura//	wilura	
WR	yapurra	wilurarra//	yapurrkura		
Pap	yapurra	wilurarra//	yapurrkura		
Bal	yapurra	wilura	yapurrkura	wilurarra	kularra
CC	yapurra	wilura//	kal̲a	yapurrkura	wilurarra
FC	wilura	yapurra//	wilurarra	yapurrkura	kal̲a
LG	yapurra	wilura	yapurrkura	kara//	wilurarra
Jig	yapurra	wilura	yapurrara	yapurrkura//	wilurarra
Wil	yapurra	yapurrkura//	yapurru	wilurarra	wilura

'river/creek' C.N. karru

Ern	ankuwayi	karru				
Gil	karru	kirikpa	kiriki	yankuwayi//	wungka	
WR	karru	kirikpa	kiriki	yangkuwayi		
Pap	karru	kuriki	larrtjalarrtja	kiriki//		
Bal	karru	kiliki	kuriki	warrku	mat̲uwarra//	wungka
CC	karru	mat̲uwarra	kiliki	kuriki	wal̲alarra//	wungka
FC	karru	kiliki	mat̲uwarra	tarrkalpa//	kiriki	wungka
LG	karru	kuriki	kurikpa	wungka	tjurarrpa//	
Jig	karru	wungka	kuriki			
Wil	karru	wungka	kuriki			

'earth' C.N. pan̲a

Ern	manta	pan̲a			
Gil	pan̲a	manta	warirrki		
WR	pan̲a	manta			
Pap	pan̲a	manta	warirrki		
Bal	pan̲a	warirrki	manta	nguwa//	
CC	pan̲a	nguwa	warirrki//	manta	
FC	pan̲a	nguwa	warirrki//	manta	walya
LG	pan̲a	mun̲nyi	manta//	warirrki	
Jig	pan̲a	putjurrpa	warirrki//	manta	
Wil	pan̲a	putjurrpa	manta	warirrki//	

'path/track' C.N. yiwarra

Ern	iwarra	ruuta				
Gil	yiwarra	ruurrpa	karrukarru	palkarra	yururru//	ruutu
WR	yiwarra	ruurrpa	karrukarru	palkarra		
Pap	yiwarra	palkarra	ruutu//	yurutu	watjarra	yururru
Bal	yiwarra	karrukarru	ruutu	palkarra//	watjarra	ruutpa
CC	yiwarra	karrukarru	ruutu//	palkarra	watjarra	ruurrpa
FC	yiwarra	karrukarru	ruutu	palkarra//	walalarra	yururru
LG	yiwarra	ruutu	karrukarru	mutu	palkarra	ruutpa
Jig	yiwarra	yururru	ruutu	karrukarru//	palkarra	watjarr
Wil	yiwarra	yururru	ruutpa	tjina	watjarra	ruutu//

'stick' C.N. wat̠a

Ern	pun̠u	kawarrtji//	ngan̠a			
Gil	wat̠a	ngan̠a	pun̠u	watiya//		
WR	wat̠a	ngan̠a	pun̠u			
Pap	wat̠a	pun̠u	ngan̠a	watiya//		
Bal	wat̠a	pun̠u	watiya	ngan̠a//		
CC	wat̠a	pun̠u	man̠a	yingkan̠a	watiya//	
FC	wat̠a	pun̠u	man̠a//	ngan̠a	watiya	
LG	wat̠a	mangu	wurrkalpa//	pun̠u	ngan̠a	watiya
Jig	wat̠a	mungka	pun̠u//	ngan̠a	pilypa	watiya
Wil	wat̠a	pun̠u	watiya//	ngan̠a		

'vegetable food' C.N. mayi

Ern	mai	mirrka//	pulakarra			
Gil	mirrka	mayi	pulakarra//	miyi	yuta	mantjirrpa
WR	mirrka	mayi	pulakarra			
Pap	mayi	mirrka	miyi//	mangarri	yuta	mantjirrpa
Bal	mirrka	mangarri	mayi	miyi	mantjirrpa//	yuta
CC	mayi	mirrka	mangarri	miyi	mantjirrpa//	yuta
FC	mayi	mirrka	miyi	mangarri//	mantjirr(pa)	yuta
LG	mayi	mirrka	mantjirrpa	miyi	yunkalpinti//	yuta
Jig	mirrka	yuta	mayi	mantjirr(pa)//		
Wil	mirrka	mayi	yuta	mantjirr(pa)//		

'dog' C.N. tjan̠t̠u

Ern	papa	tjitutja	wanguwangu//			
Gil	papa	tjan̠t̠u//	wit̠a	tjutju	kunyarrpa	
WR	papa	tjan̠t̠u	tjutju			
Pap	papa	tjan̠t̠u	wit̠a//	tjutjutju	kunyarrpa	tjutju
Bal	tjan̠t̠u	papa	wit̠a	kunyarrpa	wangan̠i	tjutju
CC	wit̠a	tjan̠t̠u	papa	kunyarr(pa)//	ngini	tjan̠nga
FC	wit̠a	tjan̠t̠u	kunyarr(pa)	papa	tjutju	punpulu
LG	tjan̠t̠u	wit̠a	kunyarr(pa)	papa	tjangalyi	kampura
Jig	tjan̠t̠u	papa	wit̠a//	tjutju	kunyarr(pa)	
Wil	tjan̠t̠u	papa	tjutju	pupu	wit̠a	kunyarrpa

'meat' C.N. kuka

Ern	kuka	wakari//				
Gil	kuka	miitpa//	kuwiyi	kuyu	tjaapi	
WR	kuka	miitpa//	kuwiyi	kuyu		
Pap	kuka	miita	miitpa//	kuyu	wakari	tjaapi
Bal	kuka	kuyu	kuwiyi	miitpa	liwilypa//	
CC	kuka	kuyu	kuwiyi//	miitpa	mantu	liwilypa
FC	kuka	kuwiyi	kuyu	miit	wakari	ngat̠inypa//
LG	kuka	kuwiyi	miitpa//	mantu	tjangalyi	
Jig	kuka	kuwiyi	mantu	miitpa//		
Wil	kuka	kuwiyi	miitpa//	mantu		

'cat' C.N. ngaya

Ern	ngaya	putji	putjikata	ngiyu	mulku//	wiika
Gil	wiika	ngaya	nyulkulku	wiilyka	kunanyumpunypa	
WR	wiilyka	ngaya	nyulkulku	wiika	putjikatu	wilpinpa
Pap	ngaya	wiika	putjikata	wiratju	nyarrukuta	wilpinpa
Bal	ngaya	nyumpunypa	putjikatu	wilypin	nyul̠kul̠kutu	miiyawu
CC	putjikata	miiyawu	ngaya	nyul̠kul̠ku	ngalyangamu	ngalyataan̠pa
FC	minyawu	miiyawu	putjikatu	wilypinpa	ngaya	ngalyakinti//
LG	minyawu	putjikatu	ngalyawangka	tjutjukulyu	nyumpunypa	mulyakinti
Jig	tjutjukulyu	wiika	taan̠pa	putjiputji	minyawu	ngalyangamu
Wil	tjutjukulyu	wiika	putjikatu	tjiinpa	ngiingi	mulyangamu

'crow' C.N. kaanka

Ern	kaanka	wangkilka	tarrkangalku	waangarrungarru//		
Gil	kaanka	tarrkamungulpa	warrngarrungarru	wakinka	pinyingalku	
WR	kaanka	tarrkamungulpa	waangarrungarru			
Pap	kaanka	kampinyka	kunangalku	tarrkamungulpa	tjakinkata	
Bal	kaanka	tarrkamungulpa	wankuta	wakitata	tarrkangalku	
CC	kaanka	wangkana	kunamungulpa	tarrkamungulpa	yunangalku	
FC	kaanka	tjakilyata	wangkana	wakinka	wangkiti	wangkuta
LG	kaanka	wakinka	tjakinkata	wakitata	wakurra	tarrkamungulpa
Jig	kaanka	wakitata	waaku	wakinka	wanguna//	wangkuna
Wil	kaanka	wakitata	waaku	wakinka	waangu	pinyingalku

END

'fly' C.N. ngurrinypa

Ern	punpunpa	muungu//				
Gil	muungu	punpunpa	muunurrku	ngurrita	ngurriny	
WR	muungu	puurrpunpa				
Pap	muungu	ngurrinypa	punpunpa//	kunma	muunurrku	muunurrkunuku
Bal	ngurriny(pa)	muungu	ngurrita	muunurrku//		
CC	ngurriny(pa)	muungu	ngurrita	purrmuru//	muunurrku	ngurrila
FC	ngurriny(pa)	ngurrinya	muungu	kurungalku	purrmuru	ngurrata
LG	ngurriny(pa)	ngurrita	wanminypa	muungu//	ngurrila	muunurrku
Jig	muungu	ngurrita	warrari	ngurrila	tatu	muunurrku//
Wil	muungu	muunurrku	ngurrita//	ngurriny(pa)	ngurrila	

'one' C.N. kutju

Ern	kutju	kampinyu	kumpinyu		
Gil	kutju	kumpinyu			
WR	kutju	kumpinyu			
Pap	kutju	kumpinyu//	tjinu		
Bal	kutju	kumpinyu	tjinu		
CC	kutju	kumpinyu	tjinu	nguyarra	yikamata
FC	kutju	kumpinyu	kayan//	tjinu	
LG	kutju	kumpinyu//	tjinu	yikamata	
Jig	kutju//	watjara	tjinu	yikamata	
Wil	kutju//	tjinu	waratja	yikamata	

'two' C.N. kutjarra

Ern	kutjarra	nyatuwarra//	
Gil	kutjarra	kalyararra//	
WR	kutjarra	kalyararra	
Pap	kutjarra	kalyararra	kumpinyurra//
Bal	kutjarra		
CC	kutjarra	tjirrama	kurriny//
FC	kutjarra	kurriny//	
LG	kutjarra//		
Jig	kutjarra//		
Wil	kutjarra//		

'many' C.N. laltu

Ern	tjuta//	pini				
Gil	pini	tjuta	yannga	pili	pinyi	laltu//
WR	pini	tjuta//	pinyi			
Pap	tjuta	pini	ruunytja	laltu	yannga	pinyi//
Bal	laltu	yannga	pinyi	pini	tjuta	ruunytja
CC	laltu	yannga	pinyi	pini//	wiinytja	tjuta
FC	laltu	patja	tjayiya	pini//	yannga	pinyi
LG	laltu	yannga	kunngalpu	pinyi	uri//	ruupa
Jig	yannga	laltu	pini	wiinytja	kuyarra//	tjuta
Wil	yannga	laltu	pini	pininya	muunku	wiinytja//

'big' C.N. tjalu

Ern	pulka//	tina				
Gil	pulkanya	yuwinpa//	pulka	tina	matju	yakulyu
WR	pulkanya	pulka				
Pap	pulkanya	pulka	tina	yuwinpa//	tjalu	matju
Bal	tjalu	pulka	yuwinpa	tina	matju//	yakulyu
CC	tjalu	pulka	yuwin(pa)	matju	tjukumunu//	tjuma
FC	tjalu	pulka	yuwinpa	pulkanya//	matju	tjuma
LG	tjalu	tjuma	yuwinpa	pulka	matjumata//	matju
Jig	matjumata	matju	tjuma	yakulyu	pulka//	tjalu
Wil	matju	tjuma	pulka	tjalu	yakulyu	tjukumunu

'small' C.N. tjuku

Ern	tjukutjuku	tjimpatjimpa	kulunyra//	tjapu	wiima	
Gil	kulupa	kulunypa	tjukutjuku	tjapu	wiima//	tjulitjuli
WR	kulupa	kulunypa	tjukutjuku//	tjulyitjulyi		
Pap	tjukutjuku	wiima//	nyamanypa	tjaputjapu	tjulitjuli	yamanypa
Bal	lampan(pa)	tjuku	wiima	nyamany(pa)	tjapu	tjulitjuli
CC	lampan(pa)	tjuku	tjukutjuku	tjukunya	nyamanpa	ngini//
FC	tjuku	lampan	tjukutjuku	tjutamata	nyuyi	tjulitjuli
LG	tjuku	tjukutjuku	tjapu	tjulitjuli	tjapuwata	tjulyi
Jig	tjuku	tjukutjuku	tjulitjuli	tjapuwata//	nyamanypa	kulunypa
Wil	tjuku	tjukutjuku	tjapu	tjulitjuli	warrku	tjapuwata//

'good' C.N. palya

Ern	palya	wiru	kurramunu	nguyanyu//	walykumunu	
Gil	walykumunu	palya	wiru	pantirrpa	kurramunu	kunytjunyu
WR	walykumunu	palya	kurramunu//	wiru	miku	
Pap	palya	wiru	miku	pantirrpa//	kunytjunyu	walykumunu
Bal	palya	pantirrpa	miku	wiru	ngalypa//	kunytjunyu
CC	palya	pantirrpa	wulyu	miku//	kunytjunyu	ngalypa
FC	palya	pantirr(pa)	putapani	wulyu	wiyaputa//	kunytjunyu
LG	palya	pantirr(pa)	ngalypa	kunytjunyu	walykumunu//	miku
Jig	kunytjunyu	pantirr(pa)	palya	ngalypa//	walykumunu	miku
Wil	kunytjunyu	palya	pantirrpa	miku	walykumunu	ngalypa//

'bad' C.N. puta

Ern	kurra	kurrakurra	palyamunu	walykuwalyku		
Gil	palyamunu	kurrakurra	walyku	puta//	kurra	kuya
WR	palyamunu	kurrakurra	walyku	kurra	puta//	kuya
Pap	kurra	panytja	kuya	puta//	walyku	
Bal	ngawu	puta	panytja	kurra	kuya//	walyku
CC	puta	walyku	panytja	ngawu	ngalapa//	kurra
FC	puta	walyku//	panytja	ngala//	kuyamata	kuya
LG	puta	walyku//	kuyamata	kanutja	kurra	kuya
Jig	walyku	puta	kuyamata	kuwiyamata//	kurrakurra	kurra
Wil	walyku	puta	panytja	kuyamata	kurrakurra	

'no' C.N. wiya

Ern	wiya					
Gil	wiya	winngirra//	paki	munu	yumu	waya
WR	wiya	winngirra	kunpu//	paki	munu	
Pap	wiya//	yumu	paki	waya	munu	
Bal	wiya	lawa	yumu//	waya	paki	munu
CC	wiya	wara	malaly//	paki		
FC	wiya	yumu//	paki	munu	waya	
LG	wiya	paki	winngirra	munu	yipilypa//	yumu
Jig	paki	wiya	munu	pampulypa//	yumu	
Wil	wiya	paki	yumu	munu	yumumata//	waya

'black' C.N. maru

Ern	maru	marumaru				
Gil	maru	marumaru				
WR	maru	marumaru				
Pap	maru//	munga				
Bal	maru	marumaru	yalta	lipi	kutupiri	nalipi
CC	maru	marumaru	yalta	kunkun//		
FC	maru	kunkun(pa)	marumaru	pulakwana//		
LG	maru	marumaru	wamatja	wamata//		
Jig	maru	marumaru				
Wil	maru	marumaru				

'red' C.N. mitjimitji

Ern	tjitintjitinpa	tjintjiritjintjiri	riitwana//	tjatjaka	
Gil	tjitintjitinpa	riitwanpa	mitjilpa	tjatjaka	mitjinjtji// minyminy
WR	tjitintjitinpa	riitwanpa	mitjilpa		
Pap	tjatjaka	karrku//	mitjimitji	riitwana	mitjilpa milimili
Bal	pilytji	karrku	riitwana	yilkurrkura	mitjimitji tjatjaka
CC	yilkulyilkulypa	riitwan	riitpala	karrku	tili pilytji
FC	tilitili	tilytjilypa	yilkurr	yilkuyilku	riitwanpa pilytji
LG	mitjimitji	milyarri	yilkulyilkuly	riitwan	pilyarri rarrpararrpa
Jig	mitjimitji	minyminy(pa)	mitji	yilkurrpa//	pilyarri rarrpararrpa
Wil	mitjimitji	minyminy(pa)	riitwanpa	mitjilpa	pilyarri//

'man' C.N. puntu

Ern	wati	puntu				
Gil	wati	puntu//	matu	yanangu		
WR	wati	puntu//	matu			
Pap	wati	puntu//	matu			
Bal	puntu	wati	matu//			
CC	puntu	wati	yina//	matu	pun	ngapayi
FC	puntu	wati	ngankurrkulu	nganpayi	piina//	matu
LG	puntu	yina	wati	kita	matu	pulku
Jig	puntu	yina	wati	kita//	matu	
Wil	puntu	wati	kita	yina	matu	nyalypa//

'woman' C.N. tutju

Ern	minyma	kungka//	wanatjarra	tjilpiratjarra		
Gil	minyma	tutju	wanatjarra	kungka	tjalpiratjarra//	wanti
WR	minyma	wanatjarra	kungka	tjalpiratjarra//	tutju	
Pap	tutju	minyma	wanatjarra	kungka//	wanti	
Bal	tutju	minyma	wanatjarra	wanakulu	mirrkatjarra	kungka//
CC	tutju	minyma	wanakulu//	ngilypi	wanti	munin
FC	tutju	wanatjarra	minyma	manin	mulytunpa	kalapi//
LG	tutju	wanti	ngilypi	wanatjarra//		
Jig	wanti	tutju	minyma	wanatjarra	kungka	ngilypi//
Wil	wanti	minyma	tutju	ngilypi	wanatjarra//	kungka

'father' C.N. mama

Sr

Ern	mama	punarri	ngalkari//	tati		
Gil	mama	tati	mamat̲i	punarri//		
WR	mama	tati	punari	mamat̲i		
Pap	mama	mamanti	tati//	tjatja		
Bal	mama	wapirra	tati	mamat̲i	yin̲a//	kantju
CC	yin̲a	mama	tati	ngarpu	wapirra//	
FC	mama	yin̲a	tati	mamanti	ngarpu	wapirra//
LG	yin̲a	mama	tati	tatiyi//		
Jig	mama	tati//				
Wil	mama	tati	mamatji	yulman//		

'mother' C.N. yipi

Ern	ngunytju					
Gil	ngunytju	yipi	mami//	yaku	yakuti	
WR	ngunytju	yipi	mami			
Pap	ngunytju	yipi	mami	yaku	maama//	yakuti
Bal	yipi	ngunytju	yipitja	mami	yakut̲i//	nyurrka
CC	yipi	tilypu	nyurrka	yipitja	ngunytju	ngama
FC	yipi	yipitja	tilypu	mami	nyurrka//	ngunytju
LG	yipi	tilypu	mami	mal̲atju//	yakut̲i	ngunytju
Jig	yaku	tilypu	yakuti	mami//	ngunytju	yipi
Wil	mami	yipi	yakut̲i	yaku	yimi	ngunytju

'Older brother' C.N. kut̲a

Ern	kut̲a				
Gil	kut̲a	puratja	kaaka//	pupu	papat̲u
WR	kut̲a	puratja	kaka	pupu	
Pap	kut̲a	papat̲u	kaaka//		
Bal	kut̲a	papat̲u//	pupu	kukun̲u	
CC	kut̲a	papat̲u	papatji//	pupu	
FC	kut̲a	papat̲u	papatji//	pupu	
LG	papat̲u	kut̲a//	pupu	pupatja	
Jig	kut̲a	papat̲u	pupu//		
Wil	papat̲u	kut̲a	pupu		

'saw' C.N. nyangu

Ern	nyangu		
Gil	nyangu		
WR	nyangu		
Pap	nyangu		
Bal	nyangu		
CC	nyangu	milyakunu	nyanyama
FC	nyangu		
LG	nyangu		
Jig	nyangu		
Wil	nyangu		

'heard' C.N. kulin̲u

Ern	kulin̲u	altjurunu				
Gil	kulin̲u	yangkuranu//				
WR	kulin̲u	yaltjurunu				
Pap	kulin̲u	yangkurunu	yangkurunu//	yaltjurunu	ngangkunu	
Bal	kulin̲u	yangkurunu	yaltjurunu//	ngangkunu		
CC	kulin̲u	kawuntanu	ngangkunu	pinalkarrinya//	yangkurunu	yaltjurunu
FC	kulin̲u	kuwantanu	pinalkarrinya//	yalytjurunu	ngangkun̲u	yangkurunu
LG	kulin̲u	kuwantanu	kurantanu//	ngangkun̲u	yaltjurunu	yangkuranu
Jig	kulin̲u	ngangkun̲u//	yaltjurunu	yangkuranu//		
Wil	kulin̲u	ngangkun̲u	yangkuranu	yaltjurunu//		

'drank' C.N. tjikin̲u

Str

Ern	tjikin̲u		
Gil	tjikin̲u		
WR	tjikin̲u		
Pap	tjikin̲u//	yiilarringu	
Bal	tjikin̲u		
CC	tjikin̲u	ngan̲ima	
FC	tjikin̲u	wuntun̲u	ngupun̲u
LG	tjikin̲u	wuntun̲u	
Jig	tjikin̲u	wuntun̲u	
Wil	tjikin̲u	wuntun̲u	

'ate' C.N. ngalangu

Ern	ngalkun̲u//	ngalangu	
Gil	ngalangu	ngalkun̲u//	
WR	ngalangu//	ngalkun̲u	
Pap	ngalkun̲u	ngalangu	
Bal	ngalangu	ngalkun̲u	
CC	ngalangu	nganu	ngani// ngalkun̲u
FC	ngalangu	ngalkun̲u	
LG	ngalangu	ngalkunpa	
Jig	ngalangu	ngalkun̲u	
Wil	ngalangu	ngalkun̲u	

'sat' C.N. nyinangu

Ern	nyinangu//	purun̲u		
Gil	nyinangu	pintiringarangu//		
WR	nyinangu	pintiringarangu		
Pap	nyinangu	pintiringarangu//		
Bal	nyinangu	pintiringarangu//		
CC	nyinangu	kirrpanya		
FC	nyinangu//	pintiringarangu		
LG	nyinangu	nyinangunpa	kurrngan̲u	pintiringarangu
Jig	nyinangu	pintiringarangu		
Wil	nyinangu	pintiringarangu		

'stood' C.N. ngarangu

Ern	ngarangu		
Gil	ngarangu		
WR	ngarangu		
Pap	ngarangu		
Bal	ngarangu		
CC	ngarangu	karrinya//	yikin̲u
FC	ngarangu//	yikin̲u	
LG	ngarangu	ngarangunpa//	yikin̲u
Jig	ngarangu	yikin̲u	
Wil	ngarangu//	yikin̲u	watun̲u

'gave' C.N. yungu

Ern	yungu//	yungu	nintin̲u
Gil	nintin̲u	yungu//	
WR	nintin̲u	yungu	
Pap	yungu//	nintin̲u	
Bal	yungu		
CC	yungu//	nintin̲u	yinypal̲a
FC	yungu//	nintin̲u	
LG	yungu	yunganya//	nintin̲u
Jig	yungu//	nintin̲u	
Wil	yungu//	nintin̲u	

'shot'			C.N. yungkan̲u			
Ern	pawun̲u//	tjutupungu				
Gil	tjutupungu	rulyupungu	kuntin̲u	rungkan̲u//	yungkan̲u	pawun̲u
WR	tjutupungu	rulyupungu	yungkan̲u	rungkan̲u//	kuntin̲u	pawun̲u
Pap	kuntin̲u	rungkan̲u	tjutupungu//	rulyupungu	yungkan̲u	
Bal	yungkan̲u	kuntin̲u	rungkan̲u	tjutumanu	tjutupungu	
CC	yungkan̲u	tjutupungu	luwan̲u//	kuntin̲u	tjutumanu	
FC	yungkan̲u	tjutumanu	tulkurrpungu	tjutupungu//	kun̲tin̲u	
LG	yungkan̲u	tjutumanu//	kuntin̲u	tjutupungu		
Jig	yungkan̲u	tjutumanu	pungu//	kuntin̲u	tjutupungu	tjuutamunu
Wil	yungkan̲u	tjutupungu	tjutumanu	kuntin̲u	pungu//	

A.2 COMBINED GRAMMATICAL RANGE MASTERS

Similarly the Grammatical Range masters from each community are combined for comparative purposes. We include only six synonym forms from each community. Forms on the left of mark // are primary forms and those on the right are secondary forms. The Common Northern Western Desert form is placed at the head of each listing. In the interest of saving room in crowded areas of the following lists, the final suffix of the first item is not always repeated but a hyphen indicates it should be understood as suffixed to each of the following items in the list of grammatical synonyms.

'First person singular ergative independent pronoun' C.N. ngayu-lu

Ern	ngayu-lu	ngayu-lu-n̲a	
Gil	ngayu-lu	ngayu-lu-n̲a	nganku-lu-n̲a
WR	ngayu-lu-n̲a	nganku-lu-n̲a	
Pap	ngayu-lu-n̲a	ngayu-lu-	
Bal	ngayu-lu-n̲a		
CC	ngayu-lu-n̲a		
FC	ngayu-lu-n̲a	nganku-lu-n̲a	ngatjuma-n̲a
LG	ngayu-lu-n̲a		
Jig	ngayu-lu-n̲a		
Wil	ngayu-lu-n̲a		

'First person singular object independent pronoun' C.N. ngayu

Ern	ngayu-nya-	ngayu-nya-n̲i	
Gil	ngayu-nya-n̲i	nganku-nya-n̲i	
WR	ngayu-nya-n̲i	nganku-nya-n̲i	
Pap	ngayu-nya-n̲i-		
Bal	ngayu-n̲i	ngayu-nya-n̲i	
CC	ngayu-n̲i	ngayu-nya-n̲i	
FC	ngayu-n̲i	ngayu-nya-n̲i	nganku-n̲i
LG	ngayu-n̲i	ngayu-nya-n̲i	ngayutja
Jig	ngayu-n̲i//	ngayu-nya-n̲i	
Wil	ngayu-n̲i	ngayu-nya-n̲i	

'Second person singular ergative independent pronoun' C.N. nyunku-lu

Ern	nyuntu	nyuntu-n	
Gil	nyuntu-lu-n	nyuntu-n	
WR	nyuntu-lu-n//	nyuntu-n	
Pap	nyuntu	nyuntu-lu-n	nyurra-lu-n
Bal	nyuntu-lu-n		
CC	nyuntu-lu-n		
FC	nyuntu-lu-n		
LG	nyuntu-lu-n		
Jig	nyuntu-lu-n		
Wil	nyuntu-lu-n		

'Second person singular object independent pronoun' C.N. nyunku

Ern	nyuntu-nya	nyuntu-nya-nta	
Gil	nyuntu-nya-nta		
WR	nyuntu-nya-nta		
Pap	nyuntu-nya-nta	nyurra-nya-nta	
Bal	nyuntu-nta	nyuntu-nya-nta	nyurra-nya-nta
CC	nyuntu-nta	nyuntu-nya-nta	
FC	nyuntu-nta	nyuntu-nya-nta	
LG	nyuntu-nta	nyuntu-nya-nta	
Jig	nyuntu-nta	nyuntu-nya-nta	
Wil	nyuntu-nya-nta	nyuntu-nta	

'First person plural ergative exclusive independent pronoun' C.N. ngayu-tu-latju

Ern	nganana	nganana-la		
Gil	ngayu-lu-latju	ngayun-tu-latju//	ngayutiny-tju-	ngayuny-tju-
WR	ngayu-lu-latju//	ngayun-tu-		
Pap	ngayun-tu-latju	ngayu-lu	ngananatju	ngananangarri-//
		ngayutiny-tju-	ngayuti-lu-	
Bal	ngayun-tu-latju	ngayuny-tju-	ngayuti-lu-//	ngayutiny-tju-
		ngayutin-tu-		
CC	ngayun-tju-latju	ngayuny-tju-	ngayuti-lu-//	ngayun-tu-
		ngayutiny-tju-	ngayuny-tju-ti-lu-	
FC	ngayun-tju-latju	ngayun-tu-	ngayuti-lu-	ngankuny-tju-//
		ngayun-tu		
LG	ngayuny-tju-latju	ngayuti-lu-	ngayutiny-tju-//	
		ngayun-tu-		
Jig	ngayunaraku-lu-latju	ngayutiny-tju-	ngayun-tu-	ngayuny-tju-//
Wil	ngayun-tu-latju	ngayutiny-tju-	ngayuny-tju-	

'First person plural nominative exclusive independent pronoun' C.N. ngayun-pa-latju

Ern	nganana	nganana-la		
Gil	ngayu-lu-latju	ngayun-pa-//	ngayutiny-pa-	ngayuny-pa-
WR	ngayu-lu-latju//	ngayun-pa-	ngayun-nga-	
pap	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayu-nya-	ngayun-nga-	ngananatju//
		ngayutiny-pa-	ngayuti-	
Bal	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayuti-	ngayuny-pa-//	ngayutiny-pa-
CC	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayuny-pa	ngayuti-//	ngayutiny-pa-
		ngayutin-pa-		
FC	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayuny-pa-	ngayuti-	ngankuny-pa-//
		ngayutiny-pa-		
LG	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayuny-pa-	ngayuti-//	ngayutin-pa-
Jig	ngayutiny-pa-latju	ngayuny-pa	ngayun-pa-	
Wil	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayutiny-pa-	ngayun-nga-	

'Second person dual object bound pronoun' C.N. -ntapula

Ern	pulanya	nyupali				
Gil	-ntapulanya	-pulanyanta	-pulanyan	-ntapula		
WR	-ntapulanya	-pulanyanta	-pulanyan	-ntapula		
Pap	-ntapula	nyupali				
Bal	-ntapula	-npulanya	-pulanyan	kutjarra-ntapula		
CC	-ntapula	-npulanya	-pulanyan			
FC	-ntapula//	-npulanya				
LG	-npulanya//	-ntapula	-ntapulanya			
Jig	-npulanya	-ntapula				
Wil	-ntapula	-npulanya	-pulanyan	-ntapulan	-pulanta	-ntapulanya

'Second person dual subject bound pronoun' C.N. -npula

Ern	pula		
Gil	-pulan	-npula	
WR	-pulan	-npula	
Pap	-pulan	pula//	-npula
Bal	-npula	-pulan	
CC	-npula	-pulan	
FC	-npula//	-pulan	
LG	-npula//	-pulan	
Jig	-npula	-pulan	
Wil	-npula	-pulan	

'Third person plural avoidance pronoun with case marker' C.N. tjanampalura -ngkamarra

Ern	——————-	-ngkat̲awarra			
Gil	——————-	-ngkat̲awarra	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra	-ngkat̲arra
WR	——————-	-ngkat̲arra//	-tjanampalura	-ngkat̲awarra	
Pap	——————-	-ngkamarra	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra	
Bal	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			
CC	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			
FC	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			
LG	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			
Jig	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			
Wil	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			

'Third person singular avoidance pronoun with case marker' C.N. lura -ngkamarra

Ern	tjana	-ngkat̲awarra				
Gil	———	-ngkat̲awarra	-lura	-ngkamarra	——-	-ngkat̲arra
WR	———	-ngkat̲arra//	-lura	-ngkat̲arra		
Pap	———	-ngkamarra	-lura	-ngkamarra		
Bal	-lura	-ngkamarra				
CC	-lura	-ngkamarra				
FC	-lura	-ngkamarra				
LG	-lura	-ngkamarra				
Jig	-lura	-ngkamarra				
Wil	-lura	-ngkamarra				

'Singular Demonstrative' C.N. ngaanya

Ern	nyangatja	ngaatja			
Gil	ngaanya	ngaatja//	nyangatja		
WR	ngaanya	ngaatja//	nyangatja		
Pap	ngaanya	ngaatjanya	ngaatja//	nyangatja	ngapi
Bal	ngaatja	ngaanya	ngaa//	nyangatja	
CC	ngaatja	ngaanya	ngaa//	nyangatja	
FC	ngaatja	ngaanya	ngaa//	nyangatja	
LG	ngaanya	ngaa//	ngaatja	nyangatja	
Jig	ngaa	ngaanya	ngapi//	ngaatja	nyangatja
Wil	ngaanya	ngaatja	ngaa//	nyangatja	

'Plural Demonstrative' C.N. ngaanpa-ya

Ern	nyanganpa-ya				
Gil	ngaanya-ya	ngaanpa-	ngaatjinga-	ngaakatja-	
WR	ngaanya-ya	ngaatjinnga-//	ngaanpa-	ngaakatja-	
Pap	ngaanpa-ya	ngaanya-	ngaa-	ngaa tjut̲a-//	ngaakatja-
Bal	ngaanpa-ya	ngaanya-	ngaatja-//	ngaat̲i-	ngaakatja-
CC	ngaanpa-ya	ngaat̲i-	ngaanya-//	ngaakatja-	ngaa
FC	ngaanpa-ya	ngaat̲i-	ngaakatja-	ngaanya-	
LG	ngaanpa-ya	ngaakatja-	ngaanya-//	ngaat̲i-	ngaanyakatja-
Jig	ngaanpa-ya	ngaanya-	ngaaparaku-	ngaakatja-	
Wil	ngaa-ya	ngaakatja-	ngaanpa-	ngaaparaku-	

'Conjunction' C.N. palunyatjanu

Ern	palulanguru	palunyatjanu			
Gil	palunyanguru	palulanguru	palunyatjanu	parrinyanguru	
WR	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	parrinyanguru//	palulanguru	
Pap	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palulanguru	parrinyatjanu	parrinyanguru
Bal	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palurutjanu	palutjanu	parrinyanguru
CC	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palutjanu//	parrinyatjanu	parrinyanguru
FC	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palurutjanu	parrinyatjanu	parrinyanguru
LG	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	parrinyatjanu		
Jig	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palunyatjanuyila//	parrinyatjanu	
Wil	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palutjanu	parrinyatjanu	parrinyatjanuyila

'Conjunction' C.N. palunyangka

Ern	ka				
Gil	palunyangka	ka	parrinyangka	palula	
WR	palunyangka	parrinyangka//	palula		
Pap	palunyangka	ka	parrinyangka		
Bal	palunyangka	palurungka	palungka	parrinyangka	parrunyangka
CC	palunyangka	palurungka//	parrinyangka	parrinytjangka	
FC	palunyangka//	parrinyangka			
LG	palunyangka//	parrinyangka			
Jig	palunyangka	palunyangkayila//	parrinyangka		
Wil	palunyangka	palungka//	parrinyangka	palunyangkayila	

'Locative case' C.N. -ngka

Ern	-la	-ngka		
Gil	-la	-ngka		
WR	-la	-l-ta		
Pap	-ngka	-la	-l-ta	
Bal	-ngka	-l-ta	-l-tja//	-la
CC	-ngka	-l-ta	-l-tja//	-la
FC	-ngka	-l-tja		
LG	-ngka	-l-tja		
Jig	-ngka	-l-tja	-l-ta	
Wil	-ngka	-l-tja	-l-ta//	-la

'Dative case with plural pronoun' C.N. -tjanampa -ku

Ern	-tjanampa	-ku
Gil	-tjanampa	-ku
WR	-tjanampa	-ku
Pap	-tjanampa	-ku
Bal	-tjanampa	-ku
CC	-tjanampa	-ku
FC	-tjanampa	-ku
LG	-tjanampa	-ku
Jig	-tjanampa	-ku
Wil	-tjanampa	-ku

'Projected reason marker with nouns' C.N. -ngkamarra

Ern	-ngka t̲awarra		
Gil	-ngkat̲arra	-ngkat̲awarra	-ngkamarra
WR	-ngkat̲arra	-ngkat̲awarra//	-ngkamarra
Pap	-ngkamarra	-ngkat̲awarra//	-ngkat̲arra
Bal	-ngkamarra		
CC	-ngkamarra		
FC	-ngkamarra		
LG	-ngkamarra		
Jig	-ngkamarra		
Wil	-ngkamarra		

'Accessory case' C.N. -ngka

Ern	-la			
Gil	-ngka			
WR	-la			
Pap	-ngka	-nya	-Ø	-la
Bal	-Ø	-ngka		
CC	-ngka	-Ø		
FC	-Ø	-ngka		
LG	-Ø	-ngka		
Jig	-ngka	-Ø	-l-tja	
Wil	-ngka	-Ø		

'Relator "Intention" plus ergative case'   C.N. -kitja -lu

Ern	-kitja-ngku	
Gil	-kitja-lu	-kitja-ngku
WR	-kitja-lu//	-kitja-ngku
Pap	-kitja-lu	-kitja-ngku
Bal	-kitja-lu//	-kitja-ngku
CC	-kitja-lu//	-kitja-ngku
FC	-kitja-lu//	-kitja-ngku
LG	-kitja-lu//	-kitja-ngku
Jig	-kitja-lu//	-kitja-ngku
Wil	-kitja-lu//	-kitja-ngku

'Relator "negative" plus ergative case'   C.N. -pan̲i-lu

Ern	-wiya-ngku	-maral-tu				
Gil	-wiya-lu	-wiya-ngku	-pan̲i-lu	-maral-tu//	-punatja-	
WR	-wiya-lu	-maral-tu//	-wiya-ngku	-parri		
Pap	-wiya-lu	-wiya-ngku	-pan̲i-lu	-maral-tu//		
Bal	-pan̲i-lu	-wiya-lu	-maral-tu	-maraly-tju//	-pan̲i-ngku	
CC	-pan̲i-lu	-wiya-lu//	-punatja-lu	-maraly-tju	-pan̲i-ngku	
FC	-pan̲i-lu//	-wiya-lu	-maraly-tju	-punatja-lu	-pan̲i-ngku	
LG	-pan̲i-lu	-punatja-lu//	-wiya-lu	-maraly-tju	-pan̲i-ngku	
Jig	-pan̲i-lu	-punatja-lu//	-wiya-lu	-maral-tu	-pan̲i-ngku	
Wil	-pan̲i-lu	-punatja-lu//	-wiya-lu	-maral-tu	-maal-tu	-pan̲i-ngku

'Relator "characteristic"'   C.N. -payi

Ern	-payi	-l-payinya
Gil	-payi	
WR	-payi	-l-payinyu
Pap	-payi	
Bal	-payi	
CC	-payi	
FC	-payi	
LG	-payi	
Jig	-payi	
Wil	-payi	

'Relator "origin"'   C.N. -nguru

Ern	-nguru	-tjanu
Gil	-nguru	-tjanu
WR	-tjanu	-nguru
Pap	-nguru	-tjanu
Bal	-tjanu	-nguru
CC	-tjanu	-nguru
FC	-tjanu	-nguru
LG	-nguru	-tjanu
Jig	-tjanu//	-nguru
Wil	-tjanu	-nguru

'Relator "toward"'   C.N. -kutu

Ern	-kutu				
Gil	-kutu	-tu//	-ku	-kat̲i	
WR	-kutu	-tu	-ku//	-kat̲i	
Pap	-kutu	-ku//	-tu		
Bal	-kutu	-kurra	-kat̲i	-tu//	-waka
CC	-kutu	-kat̲i	-kurra//	-tu	-waka
FC	-kutu	-kat̲i	-kurra//	-tu	-waka
LG	-kat̲i	-kutu//	-tu	-waka	-kurra
Jig	-kat̲i	-kutu//	-tu	-waka	
Wil	-kat̲i	-kutu//	-tu	-waka	

'Relator "along"' C.N. -wana

Ern	-wanu
Gil	-wana
WR	-wana
Pap	-wana
Bal	-wana
CC	-wana
FC	-wana
LG	-wana
Jig	-wana
Wil	-wana

'Relator "associative" with ergative case' C.N. -kul̲u-lu

Ern	-tjarra-ngku				
Gil	-tjarra-lu	-tjarra-ngku	-kul̲u-lu//	-winti-	
WR	-tjarra-lu	-kul̲u-lu	-winti-		
Pap	-tjarra-lu	-tjarra-ngku	-kul̲u-lu//	-winti-	-kul̲u-ngku
Bal	-kul̲u-lu	-tjarra-lu//	-winti-	-kul̲u-ngku	
CC	-kul̲u-lu	-tjarra-lu//	-winti-	-kul̲u-ngku	
FC	-kul̲u-lu	-tjarra-lu//	-winti-	-kul̲u-ngku	
LG	-kul̲u-lu	-winti-lu//	-tjarra-lu	-kul̲u-ngku	
Jig	-winti-lu	-kul̲u-lu//	-tjarra-lu	-winti-ngku	
Wil	-kul̲u-lu	-winti-lu//	-tjarra-lu	-kul̲u-ngku	

'Relator "Mistakenly" with ergative case' C.N. -kukantja -lu

Ern	-palku//	-kukantja-lu		
Gil	-kukantja-lu	-putjunu//	-karanu	
WR	-kukantja-lu	-putju-lu		
Pap	-kukantja-lu	-kukan̲u//	-karany-tju	
Bal	-kukantja-lu	-kuranytju-lu	-kukan̲u//	-karan̲u
CC	-kukan̲u	-kukantja-lu	-karan̲u	
FC	-kukan̲u	-kukantja-lu		
LG	-kukan̲u	-kukantja-lu//	-karan̲u	-kuwantja-lu
Jig	-kuran̲u	-karanu//	-kukantja-lu	
Wil	-kukantja-lu	-karan̲u	-kukan̲u	

'Different participant marker with nominaliser and continuous aspect' C.N. -rra -nykja -ngka

Ern	-nya-ngka	-nytja-ngka				
Gil	-rra-nytja-ngka	-rra-nya-ngka	-nytja-ngka	-nya-ngka//	-nytja-la	-nytjany-tja
WR	-rra-nya-ngka	-rra-nytja-la	-nytja-la//	-nytjany-tja		
Pap	-rra-nytja-ngka	-nytja-ngka	-nya-ngka	-nytja-la	-rra-nytja-la	-nyi-ngka
Bal	-rra-nytja-ngka	-nytja-ngka//	-nytja-la	-nytjany-tja		
CC	-nytjany-tja	-nytja-ngka	-rra-nytja-ngka//	-nytja-la		
FC	-nytja-ngka	-nytjany-tja//	-nytja-la			
LG	-nytja-ngka	-nytjany-tja//	-nytja-la			
Jig	-nytja-ngka	-rra-nytja-ngka-nta	-nytjany-tja//	-nytja-la		
Wil	-rra-nytja-ngka	-nytja-ngka	-nta-ngka	-nya-ngka	-rra-nya-ngka//	-nytja-la

'Nominaliser with continuous aspect' C.N. -rra-nytja

Ern	-nya-ngka	-nytja//	-rra-nytja		
Gil	-rra-nytja	-nytja//	-nytjany-pa		
WR	-rra-nytja	-nytja			
Pap	-rra-nytja	-nytja	-ngu-tja	-nytja-tjanu// -nytja-nu	-nytjany-pa
Bal	-nytja	-rra-nytja	-nytjany-pa//	-nta	-npa
CC	-nytja	-nytjanypa	-rra-nytja	-nypa//	-nta
FC	-nytjany-(pa)	-nytjan-(pa)	-rra-nytja//	-nytja	-nta
LG	-rra-nytja	-nguny-pa	-nyiny-pa//	-nytja -nta	-nytjany-pa
Jig	-nytjany-pa	-nta	-nytja	-rra-nytja	
Wil	-rra-nytja	-nytja	-nta	-nytjany(pa)	

'Projected reason marker on verbs with classifier' C.N. -l-tjaku

Ern	-nytjakutawarra	-ltjipi			
Gil	-ltjakutarra	-ltjakumarra	-ltjakutawarra	-ltjaku// -ltjipi	-lkuta
WR	-ltjakutarra	-ltjakutawarra	-ltjaku//	-ltjakumarra -ltjipi	-lkuta
Pap	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-ltjipi -ltjipingkamarra	-ltjipingka -ltjakutawarra//	
Bal	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-ltjakungkamarra -lkuta	-ltjakuta -ltjipingka	
CC	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-lkuta -ltjipi	-ltjakungkamarra//	
FC	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-ltjakungkamarra -lkutangkamarra	-lkuta -ntjangkamarra	
LG	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-ltjakuta -ntjangkamarra	-lkuta -ltjakungkamarra	
Jig	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-lkuta//	-ltjipi	
Wil	-ltjakumarra	-lkuta	-ltjaku//	-lkutangka	-ltjipi

'Hortative marker' C.N. -nytjaku

Ern	-nytjaku					
Gil	-rra	-nytjaku	-tjaku			
WR	-ma					
Pap	-rra	-nytjaku//	-tjaku	-wa		
Bal	-nytjaku	-wa	-waku	-mara	-lkuraku	-rra
CC	-ra	-wa	-raku	-ngara//	-nytjaku	-tjaku
FC	-mara	-rra	-raku//	-nytjaku	-ngara	-ra
LG	-raku	-ra	-wa//	-ngara	-mara	-nytjaku
Jig	-ngara	-rra	-nytjaku			
Wil	-nytjaku	-waku	-ra	-wa	-ngara	-mara

'Purpose marker with nominaliser with classifier' C.N. -l-kura

Ern	-ntjaku					
Gil	-ltjaku	-ntjaku	-lwa	-lwaranpa	-lkuraku	
WR	-ltjaku	-ntjaku//	-lwa	-lwaranpa		
Pap	-ntjaku	-lwa//	-lkuraku			
Bal	-lkuwa	-ntjaku	-lkura	-lkuraku	-lkuwaku	
CC	-lkura	-lkuraku	-lkuwa	-ltjaku-	-ntjaku	-lkuwaku
FC	-lkuraku	-lkura	-lkuwa//	-ntjaku	-lkuwaku	
LG	-lkura	-lkuraku	-wa//	-ntjaku		
Jig	-lkura	-lkuraku//	-ntjaku	-lkuwa		
Wil	-lwaku	-lkuraku	-ntjaku			

'Present tense'   C.N. -in(pa)

Ern	-nyi					
Gil	-rra	-in(pa)	-nyi//	-n̲i		
WR	-rra//	-in(pa)	-nyi			
Pap	-in(pa)	-nyi//	-rra	-nyini	-yinpa	
Bal	-in(pa)	-nyin(pa)	-n̲i	-nyi//	-rra	
CC	-in(pa)	-nyin(pa)//	-nyi	-yin(pa)	-n̲i	-rra
FC	-in(pa)//	-nyin(pa)	-nan̲i	-nyi	-rra	
LG	-in(pa)	-inpa	-nyin(pa)	-n̲i	-nyi	-rra
Jig	-n̲i	-in(pa)//	-rra	-nyi		
Wil	-inpa	-anpa	-n̲i	-rra	-nyi	

'Consecutive action marking'   C.N. -n̲ -ngu -nu

Ern	-ra	-rra	-nu			
Gil	-ra	-ngu	-nu	-ra	-rra	-nu
WR	-ra	-rra	-nu	-n̲u	-ngu	-nu
Pap	-ra	-rra	-nu	-n̲u	-ngu	-nu
Bal	-n̲u	-ngu	-nu//	-ra	-rra	-nu
CC	-n̲u	-ngu	-nu//	-ra	-rra	-nu
FC	-n̲u	-ngu	-nu	-ra	-rra	-nu
LG	-n̲u	-ngu	-nu//	-ra	-rra	-nu
Jig	-n̲u	-ngu	-nu//	-ra	-rra	-nu
Wil	-n̲u	-ngu	-nu//	-ra	-rra	-nu

'Verb modifier "toward" with motion verb having Ø class'   C.N. kati

Ern	ngalya kati-Ø	kati-Ø		
Gil	kati-Ø			
WR	kati-Ø			
Pap	ngalya kati-Ø	ngalyati-Ø		
Bal	ngalya kati-Ø	kati-ma	ngalya ka-wa	
CC	kati-Ø	kati-ma	ngalya ka-wa	
FC	kati-Ø-n̲i	ka-wa-n̲i		
LG	ka-wa-n̲i	kati-Ø-n̲i	ngalya kati-Ø	
Jig	ka-wa-n̲i	ngalya kati-Ø		
Wil	kati-Ø-n̲i	kati-Ø	ngalya kati-Ø	ka-nga-n̲i

'Verb modifier "away from" with motion verb having rra class'   C.N. ma yarra

Ern	a-rra	ma pitja-Ø	
Gil	ma pitja-Ø		
WR	ma pitja-Ø		
Pap	ma ya-rra	ma pitja-Ø	
Bal	ma ya-rra	wun̲a ya-rra	
CC	ma ya-rra		
FC	ma ya-rra	ya-rra	
LG	ma ya-rra	ya-rra	mawu ya-rra
Jig	ya-rra	mawi ya-rra	
Wil	ya-rra	mawi ya-rra	ma ya-rra

'Verb "hit" with wa class'   C.N. pu-wa

Ern	pu-wa	
Gil	pu-wa	
WR	pu-wa	
Pap	pu-wa	
Bal	pu-wa	
CC	pu-wa	
FC	pu-wa	
LG	pu-wa	
Jig	pu-wa	
Wil	pu-wa	pu-nga

'Verb "dig" with la class' C.N. tjawa-la

Ern	tjawa-la
Gil	tjawa-la
WR	tjawa-la
Pap	tjawa-la
Bal	tjawa-la
CC	tjawa-la
FC	tjawa-la
LG	tjawa-la
Jig	tjawa-la
Wil	tjawa-la

'Continuous aspect' C.N. wulu-lu pu-wa

Ern	rawa-ngku atu-nma			
Gil	tit̲u pu-wa	tit̲u pu-ngama		
WR	tit̲u pu-ngama	tit̲u pu-wa	punga-ma	
Pap	tit̲u pu-ngama	titu pu-wa		
Bal	wulu pu-ngama	wulu pu-wa	wulu-lu pu-wa	tit̲u-lu pu-wa
CC	wulu pu-wa	wulu pu-ngama	wulu-lu pu-wa	
FC	wulu pu-ngama			
LG	wulu-lu pu-wa	wulu-lu pu-ngama	pu-nganyan	pu-wanpa
Jig	wulu-lu pu-wa	wulu pu-wa	pu-ngama	
Wil	wulu-lu pu-wa	wulu pu-ngama	wulu-lu pu-nga	wulu-lu pu-wayinpa

'Past continuous aspect' C.N. -ma

Ern	-ngi				
Gil	-rranytja	-ma	-ngi		
WR	-rranytja//	-ngi			
Pap	-ma	-ngi	-rranytja//	-payi	
Bal	-ma	-rranytja	-payi//	-ngi	
CC	-ma	-payi	-rranytja	-ngi	
FC	-ma	-payi			
LG	-payi	-ma	-rranytja	-ngunpa	-nytjanypa
Jig	-payi	-ma//	-rranytja		
Wil	-rranytja	-ma	-payi		

'Future continuous aspect' C.N. -malpa

Ern	-ma			
Gil	-ma	-malpa		
WR	-ma	-malpa		
Pap	-malpa	-wanpa	rawa nyina-ku	
Bal	-malpa	-wanpa	-ranpa	
CC	-malpa	-ranpa//	-wanpa	
FC	-malpa	-ranpa	-wanpa	
LG	-malpa	-ranpa	-wanpa	
Jig	-malpa	rawa nyin-ku//	-wanpa	
Wil	-malpa	-kuyin(pa)	-wanpa	-kuwin(pa)

'Intermittent continuous action with past continuous aspect' C.N. -rrayinu

Ern	-rrinu			
Gil	-rrayinu	-rrinu		
WR	-rrayinu	-rrinu		
Pap	-rrinu	-rrayinu		
Bal	-rrinu	-rrayinu//	-ngunangu	
CC	-rrayinu	-rrinu		
FC	-rrinpa	-rranytja//	-rrayinu	-rrinu
LG	-ngunpa-	-rrayinu	-payi//	-rrinu
Jig	-ngunangu//	-rrayinu	-rrinu	
Wil	-rrayinu	-payi//	-rrinu	

'Subjunctive mood' with classifier C.N. -l-mara

Ern	-nam	uti	-nma
Gil	-nma	-lmara//	-lngara
WR	-nma		
Pap	-lmara	-lngara	
Bal	-lmara	-lngara	
CC	-lngara	-lmara	
FC	-lmara	-lngara	
LG	-lmara	-lngara	-ra
Jig	-lngara//	-lmara	
Wil	-lngara//	-lmara	

'Verb modifier "away from" with motion verb' C.N. ma pitjangu

Ern	ma pitjangu		
Gil	ma pitjangu		
WR	ma pitjangu		
Pap	ma pitjangu	ma yanu	
Bal	ma yanu	ma pitjangu	
CC	ma yanu	ma pitjangu	
FC	ma yanu	yanu	
LG	yanu	ma yanu	mawu yanu
Jig	ma yanu		
Wil	ma yanu	mawu yanu	mawi yanu

'Verb modifier "toward" with motion verb' C.N. ngalya yanu

Ern	ngalya pitjangu	pitjangu
Gil	pitjangu	ngalya pitjangu
WR	pitjangu//	ngalya pitjangu
Pap	ngalya pitjangu	ngalya yanu
Bal	ngalya yanu	ngalya pitjangu
CC	ngalya yanu	yanun̲i
FC	ngalya yanu	n̲i
LG	yanun̲i	ngalya yanu
Jig	yanun̲i	ngalya yanu
Wil	ngalyan̲i yanu	ngalya pitjangu

'Verb modifier "around" with motion verb' C.N. parra yanu

Ern	parra pitjangu	
Gil	parra pitjangu	
WR	parra pitjangu	
Pap	parra yanu	parra pitjangu
Bal	parra yanu	parra pitjangu
CC	parra yanu	
FC	parra yanu	
LG	parra yanu	
Jig	parra yanu	
Wil	parra yanu	

'Verb modifier "unsuccessfully"' C.N. put̲u

Ern	put̲u
Gil	put̲u
WR	put̲u
Pap	put̲u
Bal	put̲u
CC	put̲u
FC	put̲u
LG	put̲u
Jig	put̲u
Wil	put̲u

'Verb modifier "partially"' C.N. kulyu

Ern	arunyku	aru	puulpa
Gil	puulpa	kulyu	
WR	puulpa//	kulyu	
Pap	kulyu	puulpa	
Bal	kulyu		
CC	kulyu		
LG	kulyu		
Jig	mantanpa//	kulyu	
Wil	mantanpa	kulyu	

'Verb modifier "again"' C.N. puru

Ern	piruku//	puru		
Gil	puru			
WR	puru			
Pap	puru	piruku	piyuku	wituka
Bal	puru	witu-lu		
CC	puru	witu-lu		
FC	witu-lu//	puru		
LG	wituka			
Jig	yarranu	karu		
Wil	yarranu//	puru		

'Verb modifier "continually" with verb "take" with ergative/nominative case' C.N. wulu

Ern	rawa-ngku	titutjarra-ngku	titu-ngku	
Gil	titu	titu-lu		
WR	titu -ma//	titu-lu		
Pap	titu	kutu	rawa	wulu
Bal	wulu	wulutjarra	titu	
CC	wulu	titu-lu		
FC	wulu	wulu-lu		
LG	wulu	wulu-lu		
Jig	wulu-lu	wulu		
Wil	wulu-lu	titu		

'Verb modifier "ahead" with ergative/nominative case' C.N. kurranyu-lu

Ern	ngamany-tju	
Gil	kurranyu-lu	kurranyu
WR	kurranyu-lu	
Pap	kurranyu	kurranyu-lu
Bal	kurranyu-lu	kurranyu
CC	kurranyu-lu	kurranyu
FC	kurranyu-lu	kurranyu
LG	kurranyu-lu	kurranyu
Jig	kurranyu-lu	
Wil	kurranyu-lu	kurranyu

'Verb modifier "quickly" with ergative case' C.N. wala-lu

Ern	wala-ngku//	wala-lu			
Gil	waarrpuwa	wala-lu	wala-ngku//	pipurrulu	
WR	wala-lu	warrpuwa//	wala-ngku		
Pap	wala-lu	wala-ngku	pula-lu	parrpatu-lu	wirrurru-lu
Bal	wala-lu	pula-lu//	pipurru-lu	wirrurru-lu	
CC	wala-lu	pula-lu//	pipurru-lu	wirrurru-lu	
FC	wala-lu	pula-lu	wala//	pipurru-lu	wirrurru-lu
LG	wala-lu//	pula-lu	pipurru-lu	wirrurru-lu	
Jig	wala-lu	pula-lu	wirrurru-lu	pini-lu	pipurru-lu
Wil	wala-lu	pula-lu	pinilu	wirrun-tu	wirrurru-lu

ABBREVIATIONS

In reference to kinship terminology the following abbreviations are used:

m = mother
b = brother
d = daughter
s = son

Locations visited on this survey are abbreviated in the appendix as follows:

Ern = Ernabella
Gil = Giles
WR = Warburton Ranges
Pap = Papunya
Bal = Balgo Mission
CC = Christmas Creek
FC = Fitzroy Crossing
LG = La Grange
Jig = Jigalong
Wil = Wiluna

Abbreviations in the Grammatical Range Masters:

sing. = Singular number
plur. = Plural number.

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REPORT ON SURVEY OF THE CENTRAL NORTHERN TERRITORY

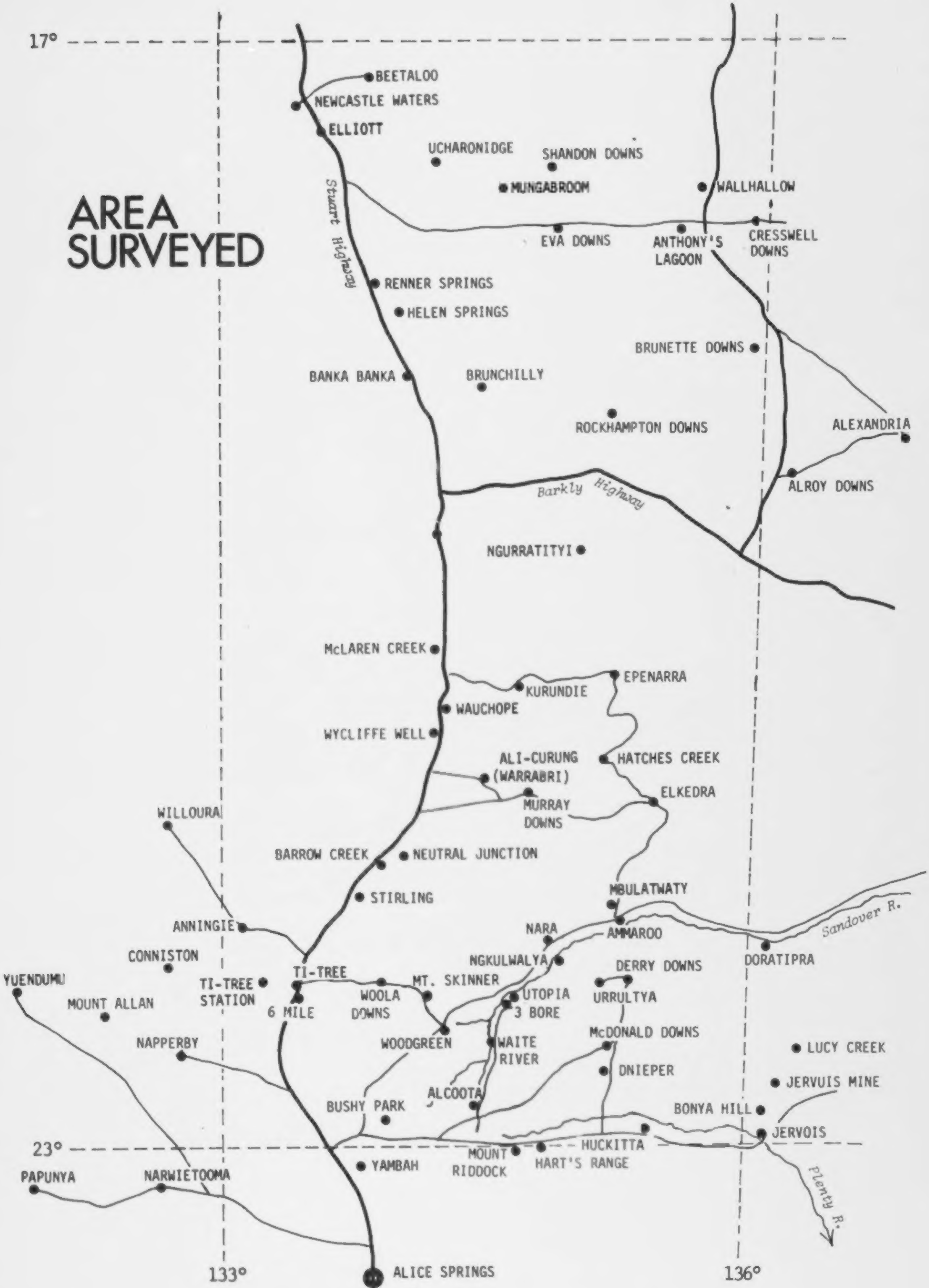
David Glasgow

0. INTRODUCTION

This survey was conducted between 22 April and 18 May 1982. The area in focus was the Barkly Tableland, the Sandover River and the Plenty River Areas. This report is concerned with the area between latitudes 17 degrees and 23 degrees south, and between longitudes 133 degrees and 136 degrees east, but also includes Alexandria, Alroy Downs, Napperby, Mt. Riddock, Hart's Range and Jervois/Bonya Hill. (See map.)

The objective of this survey was to determine the main languages used by the Aboriginal people of the area in their everyday communication with each other, and which languages would be important for other people to learn in order to better communicate with them.

The general procedure for each community visited was first to get acquainted with the leaders and explain the purpose of the visit, then elicit information either from them or from persons they designated.



AREA SURVEYED

17°
23°
133°
136°
BEETALOO
NEWCASTLE WATERS
ELLIOTT
UCHARONIDGE
SHANDON DOWNS
MUNGABROOM
WALLHALLOW
Stuart Highway
EVA DOWNS
ANTHONY'S LAGOON
CRESSWELL DOWNS
RENNER SPRINGS
HELEN SPRINGS
BRUNETTE DOWNS
BANKA BANKA
BRUNCHILLY
ROCKHAMPTON DOWNS
ALEXANDRIA
ALROY DOWNS
Barkly Highway
NGURRATITYI
McLAREN CREEK
EPENARRA
KURUNDIE
WAUCHOPE
WYCLIFFE WELL
ALI-CURUNG (WARRABRI)
HATCHES CREEK
MURRAY DOWNS
ELKEDRA
WILLOURA
BARROW CREEK
NEUTRAL JUNCTION
STIRLING
MBULATWATY
ANNINGIE
NARA
AMMAROO
Sandover R.
CONNISTON
DORATIPRA
NGKULWALYA
DERRY DOWNS
YUENDUMU
TI-TREE STATION
TI-TREE
MT. SKINNER
UTOPIA
3 BORE
URRULTYA
MOUNT ALLAN
6 MILE
WOOLA DOWNS
WOODGREEN
WAITE RIVER
McDONALD DOWNS
LUCY CREEK
NAPPERBY
DNIEPER
JERVUIS MINE
ALCOOTA
BUSHY PARK
BONYA HILL
JERVOIS
MOUNT RIDDOCK
HART'S RANGE
HUCKITTA
YAMBAH
Plenty R.
PAPUNYA
NARWIETOOMA
ALICE SPRINGS

The information asked for consisted of a list of thirty-three words in the Aboriginal languages spoken there (see Appendix II), a standard questionnaire (see Appendix III), and any other questions which appeared relevant. Whilst this information was being obtained, observations were made as to the language used by the people among themselves, paying particular attention to the different generation levels.

Stories in different vernaculars were read to people in order to test their reactions but the only language which yielded fruitful results was the Roper River dialect of Kriol (herein after referred to as Roper Kriol). Use of the Roper Kriol stories developed into a test of each community's understanding and acceptance of that Kriol. First, a couple of stories in Roper Kriol were read to the group and observation was made of the people's reaction (laughs, exclamations, etc.). Secondly, the same story was read in English and again in Roper Kriol and they were asked which they understood better. For this I used a brief story from the *Today's English version* of the New Testament and the same story translated into Roper Kriol.

After the data was collected the word lists were compared to determine the percentage of shared cognates between languages. Use was made of Menning and Nash to fill occasional gaps in the data. For the Arandic languages a similar comparison was made using the findings of Kenneth L. Hale based on a 300 word list.

Since Pidgin was not regarded as a traditional vernacular, no word list data was recorded nor were comparisons made for it.

On the average only a couple of hours could be spent at each camp. Because of this time limitation it was not always possible to check out impressions nor to resolve apparent conflicts in the information received. Since the objectives were socio-linguistic rather than linguistic the elicitation of word lists and other linguistic information received low priority.

Spellings of language and tribal names in this report are those used by the Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs. Spellings of Aboriginal names for places are usually in the orthography used by the above I.A.D. for the language of the people of that place, according to my hearing of the pronunciation, though in some cases I have adopted spellings in use by others. Where such Aboriginal names have been used, the name commonly known by Europeans for that locality is usually included in parentheses.

1. LANGUAGES

The following are the languages of the area, listed in order of importance as judged on the extent to which they are used in everyday communication by the Aborigines.

1.1 PIDGIN, OR PIDGIN ENGLISH

This should really be called Kriol as it is the first language of many people and appears to be only dialectally different from the Kriol language of the Roper and Kimberleys areas. However, as most English speakers in the area surveyed refer to it as Pidgin I follow suit in this report.

Pidgin is the main language of the northern half of the area surveyed, that is, of Elliott, Newcastle Waters, Beetaloo, Anthony's Lagoon, Brunette Downs, Alexandria, Alroy Downs and Banka Banka, and of Ali-Curung (Warrabri) and Tennant Creek, except for the Alyawarra people, and of the younger people at Rockhampton Downs.

I estimate that at least 2,000 Aborigines in the area surveyed communicate as well or better in Pidgin than they can in any other language.

There are probably local variations or dialectal differences within this area. No attempt was made to determine whether this was so, nor to what extent. However, it was observed that Roper Kriol had some words or expressions that were not natural to the people of this area, though they were mostly understood. When the Roper Kriol story was read to people at Tennant Creek, they commented that it was from the north and slightly different from their way of speaking. Differences noted were:

At Alexandria:

mandiji	Roper	Kriol	*munanga*	'European'
bobaga	"	"	*bobala*	'expression of empathy'
melot	"	"	*melabat*	'we,us,our'
gowin kil	"	"	*go kilim*	'to go to hit, kill'
skinimbat	"	"	*skinim*	'to skin'

At Alroy:

bapalanji	"	"	*munanga*	'European'

At Ali-Curung:

wailbali	"	"	*munanga*	'European'
bobaga	"	"	*bobala*	'expression of empathy'
warda	"	"	*gajinga*	'Good grief!'

Pidgin appeared to carry a social stigma in two ways:

a. There was indication that some vernacular speakers, mainly older people, resented it being used by the younger people instead of their vernacular.

b. There were some who referred to it as 'rubbish English' or 'bastard English'. These names were used often by Europeans encountered but also by Aborigines who had been closely connected with schools and who wanted to be seen as speaking only 'proper English'. It appeared to me that these Aborigines were copying this attitude from Europeans and possibly expected me to approve of such an attitude.

However, the vast majority of the Aboriginal people in the above locations were very interested in the Roper Kriol stories that I read to them, and their reactions showed that they understood them well. Some who were literate in English found that they could read Roper Kriol after minimal instruction and encouragement. Many expressed a desire to have Pidgin literacy taught in their school, and a few asked that booklets and/or tapes of Roper Kriol material be sent to them. The following anecdote is worthy of being recorded:

At Brunette Downs I read selections from Roper Kriol publications to test the people's understanding of it. Three days later I had just arrived at Tennant Creek when an Aboriginal man greeted me in the street with, 'You saw me at Brunette, didn't you? You speak our language, don't you? You looked at book there and spoke our language real good!'

1.2 ANMAJIRRA

This is the first language of all the people at Napperby, Ti-Tree and Woola, and of the majority of the people at Utopia/Three Bore and its outstation Nara (Soakage Bore), and at Wilora (Stirling). Speakers were also reported to be at Anningie, Coniston and Yuendumu.

I estimate the number of Aborigines who use Anmajirra for their everyday communication among themselves to be 1,000. Most of the children included in this figure are monolingual until they start their schooling.

Some dialectal variation was indicated by the Anmajirra word lists taken at four locations: Larramba (Napperby), Wilora (Stirling), Three Bore and Ti-Tree. I noted too that Anmajirra people at Wilora said that those at Ti-Tree were not Anmajirra but 'Ndelbra'. The degree of dialectal variation is indicated by the percentage of common Anmajirra that each list contained. (I determined common Anmajirra by noting each word that was used at the majority of places.) These percentages are: Larramba 85%, Wilora 95%, Three Bore 90%, and Ti-Tree 90%.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Anmajirra and the other languages of the Aranda group in the area, based on my thirty-three word list (see Appendix II) and Hale's three hundred word list, (see 4. below).

		My List	Hale's List
With	Western Aranda	80%	83%
"	Eastern (Sta Theresa) Aranda	81%	83%
"	Aranda Akerre	79%	70%
"	Kaytej	54%	49%
"	Alyawarra	73%	68%

1.3 ALYAWARRA

The area surveyed did not include all the known locations of Alyawarra speakers, Lake Nash in particular being outside it.

Alyawarra was found to be the first language of the Aboriginal people at Epenarra, Murray Downs, Mbulatwaty (Honeymoon Bore on Amaroo), Derry Downs, Urrultya, Ngkwulaya (Kurrajong Bore on Utopia), the Ngurratityi community, the Kargura School camp at Tennant Creek and the Alyawarra camp at Ali-Curung (Warrabri). In most of these communities the pre-school children were monolingual. Alyawarra was also found at Engawala (Alcoota), Utopia/Three Bore, Nara (Soakage Bore on Utopia) and at Tara (Neutral Junction).

I estimate the number of people in the area surveyed who use Alyawarra in their everyday communication among themselves to be 800.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Alyawarra and the other languages of the Aranda group in the area surveyed, based on my word list and Hale's more extensive list:

	My List	Hale's List
With Aranda Akerre	94%	92%
" Anmajirra	73%	68%
" Kaytej	56%	58%
" Eastern (Sta.Theresa) Aranda	74%	73%
" Western Aranda	67%	69%

1.4 ARANDA AKERRE

This is the dialect of Aranda spoken at Mt. Riddock, Hart's Range and Bonya Hill (Jervois). It is the name that the people at Hart's Range applied to themselves, and means 'Eastern Aranda'. But they said that it was different from the dialect at Santa Theresa, which other linguists have called Eastern Aranda. Hale's word list shows 'Aranda (Akar—Akiytjar; Plenty River)'. His 'Akar' is this dialect name by different spelling conventions. I was told at Bonya Hill that the Kityerre or Akityerre (= Hale's Akiytjar) had all moved away. I did not locate any in this survey, except to be told of a few at Utopia, (see 2.20). It is possible however that there are more speakers of the Akerre dialect or of a dialect very close to it at other locations in the Plenty River area.

Aranda Akerre was found to be the first language of the Aboriginal people living at the above locations, whom I estimate to number 150. They used it in their everyday communication with each other and their knowledge of English or Pidgin was fairly limited. The children seemed to be almost monolingual. For these reasons I strongly recommend that bilingual education be used when schools are started at these places.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Aranda Akerre and other languages of the Aranda group, based on my word list and Hale's list.

	My List	Hale's List
With Western Aranda	71%	67%
" Eastern (Sta. Theresa) Aranda	77%	80%
" Anmajirra	79%	70%
" Kaytej	56%	50%
" Alyawarra	94%	92%

1.5 WARUMUNGU

This is the main language spoken at Rockhampton Downs, is one of the main vernaculars at Banka Banka and is also spoken by some people at Alroy Downs, Tennant Creek and Ali-Curung (Warrabri).

It appears that the use of Warumungu is decreasing as many children and young adults in these communities are using Pidgin instead for everyday communication. This is more the case at Tennant Creek and Ali-Curung (Warrabri), though even at Banka Banka and Rockhampton Downs I observed children using Pidgin among themselves. I was told at Rockhampton Downs that the children 'hear' Warumungu but mostly use 'English' (i.e. Pidgin).

I estimate that about 200 Aborigines still have a sound knowledge of Warumungu. Most of these would be equally fluent in Pidgin and about 30 would also know Warlmanpa.

The place where Warumungu is most in use today is Rockhampton Downs. Here I got the impression that every Aborigine over ten years old has at least a passive knowledge of it, and those from about 25 and older use it a lot in everyday communication.

At Tennant Creek a course was being conducted through Adult Education to teach Europeans Warumungu. This course used several relatively sophisticated native speakers and materials from the Institute for Aboriginal Development.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Warumungu and the other languages I found in the Barkly Tableland, based on my 33 word list supplemented by Menning and Nash:

		My Supplemented List
With	Warlmanpa	36%
"	Warlpiri	30%
"	Mudbura	17%
"	Kutanji	12%
"	Wampaya	9%
"	Jingulu	4%
"	Garawa	4%

1.6 WARLPIRI (ALI-CURUNG DIALECT)

The area of this survey may not have included all the speakers of this dialect of Warlpiri. I did not visit Willowra, Yuendumu or Narwietooma, nor stations and Aboriginal communities in the area between these places, which are reported to have Warlpiri people. No attempt was made to establish the geographical limits of this dialect nor its relationship with other Warlpiri dialects. I did note, however, that Warlpiri speakers interviewed claimed their language to be a 'bit different' from that spoken at Yuendumu.

In the area surveyed, speakers of this dialect were found at Ali-Curung (Warrabri), Tennant Creek (at the 'Village', the 'Longhouse' and nearby camps, and at the 'Dump Camp') and a few at Utopia and its outstation Nara (Soakage Bore). Some Warlmanpa speakers at Tennant Creek and Banka Banka, and some Warumungu speakers at Ali-Curung also claimed to know Warlpiri.

However, in the area surveyed, this dialect of Warlpiri seems to be falling into disuse. Children and young adults in the above communities were observed to speak Pidgin among themselves and, when addressed in Warlpiri by older people, responded in Pidgin.

I estimate the number of Aborigines in the area surveyed who are fluent in this dialect of Warlpiri to be about 170, of whom very few would be under 20 years old.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between this dialect of Warlpiri and the other relevant languages found on the survey, based on my word list supplemented by Menning and Nash:

		My Supplemented List
With	Warlmanpa	67%
"	Mudbra	37%
"	Warumungu	30%
"	Jingulu	7%
"	Kutanji	7%
"	Wampaya	4%
"	Anmajirra, at Napperby	4%
"	Anmajirra, elsewhere	0%

1.7 KAYTEJ

This language is spoken by the majority of the Aborigines at Tara (Neutral Junction) and a significant number of those at Wilora (Stirling). Speakers were also found at Ali-Curung (Warrabri) and one at Napperby.

There has been considerable mixing of Kaytej people with other language speakers over the last few decades. This was said to have begun with the Barrow Creek massacre of the 1930's, the survivors of which fled in several directions and intermingled with the tribes where they went. This mixing resulted in many cases of intermarriage. Now the strongest centre for the language is at Tara, but even there a European school teacher with linguistic qualifications reported that the children speak a creole that is a mixture of Kaytej and Pidgin. At Wilora I got the impression that Kaytej speakers were close to 50% of the community, but that they had come there as small infusions into the Anmajirra community over a period of time, and hence deferred to the latter and accepted Anmajirra as the language of the community.

For these reasons, therefore, I consider that the future of Kaytej as a language for everyday communication is in doubt beyond another 20 years or so.

I estimate the number of fluent Kaytej speakers to be approximately 60.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Kaytej and other languages of the Aranda group, based on my word list and Hale's list:

		My List	Hale's List
With	Alyawarra	56%	58%
"	Aranda Akerre	56%	50%
"	Eastern (Sta. Theresa) Aranda	55%	50%
"	Western Aranda	54%	50%
"	Anmajirra	54%	49%

1.8 MUDBURA

The area of this survey did not include Wave Hill, Willeroo, Montejinnie, Matarranka or Katherine, all of which are reported to have Mudbura speakers. My opinion is that information from these places would not significally alter the picture outlined below.

Mudbura speakers were found at Elliott and Newcastle Waters, and a few were reported to be at Beetaloo.

Mudbura appears to be falling into disuse, and dying out with the older generation. I was not able even to elicit vernacular words from young adults at Elliott but was referred to the old men. Children were not observed to use any vernacular but only Pidgin, though one man claimed that they use some vernacular words. Some adults claimed that their children could speak English well.

I estimate the number of fluent speakers of this language to be approximately 50, most of whom live at Elliott. All of these would be over 30 and the majority over 50 years of age.

The following chart shows the percentage of cognates between Mudbura and other relevant Barkly languages, based on my word list supplemented from Menning and Nash:

		My Supplemented List
With	Warlmanpa	42%
"	Warlpiri	37%
"	Jingulu	32%
"	Warumungu	17%
"	Garawa	17%
"	Yanyuwa	17%
"	Wampaya	14%

It should be noted that most Mudbura speakers also speak Jingulu from long association with it.

1.9 WARLMANPA

Speakers of this language can be found mostly at Banka Banka, (these would also know Warumungu), and also at the Blueberry Hill camp at Tennant Creek.

Warlmanpa appeared to be falling into disuse. I estimate the number of people who had a good working knowledge of it to be about 45, the majority of whom are aged over 30.

All Warlmanpa speakers encountered used Pidgin freely, even when talking to other Warlmanpa people. Some stated that their children only knew Pidgin, and my observations confirmed this. There was not much evidence of Warlmanpa people using Warlpiri, in spite of its close relationship and their close proximity to it at Tennant Creek. The preference seemed to be Pidgin.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Warlmanpa and other languages of the Barkly Tableland, based on my word list suplemented by Menning and Nash:

		My Supplemented List
With	Warlpiri	67%
"	Mudbura	42%
"	Warumungu	36%
"	Jingulu	8%
"	Kutanji	7%
"	Wampaya	4%

1.10 JINGULU

The majority of speakers of this language live at Elliott, with some also at Newcastle Waters and a few reported to be at Beetaloo.

Jingulu appears to be falling into disuse, and dying out with the older generation. However, some work is being done on it at the School of Australian Linguistics at Batchelor.

I estimate the number of fluent speakers of Jingulu to be 35, the majority of whom would be over 50 years of age. When I was eliciting a word list, some young adults were unable to supply some common words, and the children appeared to not be using the vernacular at all, though one man claimed they use a few words. I observed that Pidgin was used freely by Jingulu people; and some young adults and children could use fairly standard English.

The following chart shows the percentage of cognates between Jingulu and other relevant Barkly languages, based on my word list supplemented from Menning and Nash:

		My Supplemented List
With	Wampaya	37%
"	Mudbura	32%
"	Kutanji	27%
"	Garawa	20%
"	Yanyuwa	9%
"	Warlpiri	8%
"	Warlmanpa	8%
"	Warumungu	4%

1.11 WAMPAYA

There are only a few speakers of this language left. It was reported by an Aboriginal leader at Brunette Downs that there were only three fluent speakers there. At Anthony's Lagoon a man about 60 gave me a word list. (Like other Aborigines originally from that area he now has his permanent residence at Elliott and is recruited to work at Anthony's Lagoon for the muster.) He said that older Wampaya people, presumably now at Elliott, know the language, and that other adults working with him at Anthony's Lagoon spoke a mixture of Wampaya and Pidgin. Some adults at Brunette Downs were observed to use snatches of vernacular along with Pidgin, some claimed to be able to speak a little Wampaya, while one claimed that the children know some words of it.

I hesitate to estimate the number of fluent Wampaya speakers but expect it to be in the range of 10 to 20. I got the general impression that Pidgin has taken over as the original Wampaya speaking people have mixed with other tribal groups of the Barkly Tableland and more recently at Elliott.

The following chart shows the percentage of cognates between Wampaya and other relevant Barkly languages, based on my word list supplemented from Menning and Nash:

	My Supplemented List
With Kutanji	72%
" Jingulu	37%
" Garawa	17%
" Mudbura	14%
" Warumungu	9%
" Yanyuwa	4%
" Warlpiri	4%
" Warlmanpa	4%

1.12 KUTANJI

Athough this survey did not include the Borroloola area, which may have a few Kutanji speakers, it was apparent that there were not many Kutanji left in existence. I found only four speakers, these being at Brunnette Downs, and they were not always confident of words being elicited. One was a visitor from Borroloola, who claimed that his children could speak it a bit. It was reported also that some elderly people at Elliott could speak it, though a Wampaya man from Elliott had earlier told us that Kutanji was 'all finished'.

It appears that Kutanji has been replaced by Pidgin for almost all communication.

The following chart shows the percentage of cognates between Kutanji and other relevant Barkly languages, based on my word list supplemented from Menning and Nash:

	My Supplemented List
With Wampaya	72%
" Jingulu	27%
" Garawa	16%
" Mudbura	13%
" Warumungu	12%
" Warlpiri	7%
" Warlmanpa	7%
" Yanyuwa	4%

1.13 WAGAYA

This language appears to be almost extinct. Some middle-aged women at Anthony's Lagoon for seasonal work, and another at Alroy Downs, were reported to be Wagaya, but they said they could not speak the language.

It was observed that everything they said was in Pidgin. A Wampaya man also reported that there were Wagaya people at Brunnette Downs and Alexandria, but that no one speaks it any more. At Alexandria this same man's brother reported that there were Wagaya people at Mt. Isa and Lake Nash, and that I could get some Wagaya language from some old men at Tennant Creek, namely Butcher Mick, Frank Wiggin and old Roy, or at Camoweal from Cyril. I did not locate any of these men. Nowhere did I find anyone who could give me even a few Wagaya words. The Wagaya woman at Alroy said that her father (now deceased) used to speak it but no one now speaks it. She said, 'We used to tease (the older people when they used vernacular), now people only speak Pidgin.'

2. PLACES

In this section a brief summary is given of the language situation among the Aborigines at each location visited, along with observations on the number of people living there, their response to a sample read to them of Roper Kriol, the education facility there, and any other details deemed relevant. The order of presentation is roughly north to south.

2.1 NEWCASTLE WATERS

Approximately 25 Aborigines were living in the village at Newcastle Waters and three at the station, about 2 km away. There is a school at the village.

The vernaculars spoken were Jingulu and Mudbura, mainly by the older people.

English was used extensively, with some Pidgin influence in the case of the older people. Roper Kriol was not tested.

Of the three questionnaire respondents, two young men said they would like to see Jingulu and Mudbura used in the school, probably from a desire to see their language 'roots' preserved rather than to meet a communication need. Their father said only English should be used.

2.2 ELLIOTT

Approximately 230 Aborigines were living in the two camps at Elliott, the larger one at the northern end of the town and the other, 'Anthony's Camp', about 1 km to the south of the town.

The vernaculars spoken were Mudbura and Jingulu by many of the older people, and Wampaya by a few older people at Anthony's Camp. Younger people, who have had some school education, seemed to use Pidgin or English, or a mixture of both, rather than a vernacular. It was claimed, however, that they 'hear' the language.

The lingua franca and the language most commonly observed was Pidgin. Roper Kriol was not tested.

Adults responding to the questionnaire expressed the desire to see both Mudbura and Jingulu taught in the school, which again I suspect indicates a desire to see their language 'roots' preserved, rather than to meet a communication need.

2.3 ANTHONY'S LAGOON

Few, if any, Aborigines were living at Anthony's lagoon permanently. The original people of this area were living at the Anthony's Camp at Elliott. I visited people who had been recruited from Elliott for the mustering.

The vernacular of the area was said to be Wampaya, but I found only one man, about 60 years old, who could give me a sample of this language. He said that other adults spoke a mixture of Wampaya and Pidgin.

Pidgin was observed to be the language used almost entirely among them.

Roper Kriol was well understood. One young man, apparently literate in English, read some Roper Kriol after minimal tuition and encouragement.

The one questionnaire respondent expressed the desire to have Wampaya taught in Elliott school, again probably to see his language 'roots' preserved.

2.4 BRUNETTE DOWNS

Approximately 200 Aborigines were living on what appeared to be an excision (an area of land formally excised from a pastoral lease and given to an Aboriginal community for their habitation) 2 km south of the homestead at Brunette Downs. There was a one-teacher school near their camp.

It appeared to be quite a mixed community, having a few speakers each of Wampaya, Kutanji, Garawa, Yanyuwa and Mara. The young people were using only Pidgin.

The language most commonly observed was Pidgin; in fact, nothing else was heard in use by Aborigines with each other. Some young people and one middle aged man could use fairly standard English with me, but apparently didn't with other Aborigines.

Roper Kriol was well understood, and, in fact, later referred to as 'our language' by one man. All except one man understood Roper Kriol better than standard English.

Some questionnaire respondents expressed the desire to have Wampaya and/or Kutanji taught in the school, probably, as in other cases, to see their language 'roots' preserved. One leader stated that the parents should have taught their children their language, but they didn't, so there would be no point now in having any vernacular in the school. He said they could possibly have Kriol.

2.5 ALEXANDRIA

Approximately 20 Aborigines were living at Alexandria permanently and on the average about an equal number of temporary or semi-permanent people stay there. They are free to live on the station when not employed.

There is a school (19 children enrolled, multi-racial, one teacher plus aides) and a Post Office at the homestead.

No vernacular was claimed to be spoken by the Aborigines, though they said it was Wagaya country. However, one of the European station staff claimed he often heard Aborigines using vernacular when they wanted to conceal their conversation from Europeans. I suspect they used a 'heavy' Pidgin, with perhaps a few vernacular words thrown in, on such occasions.

The language most commonly observed was Pidgin, with variation toward standard English among the younger people and those who had come from Queensland.

Roper Kriol was fairly well understood. One young woman, who claimed she could read English 'a little bit', read Roper Kriol after less than a minute of tuition. She could also point out vocabulary differences between Roper Kriol and the local Pidgin.

2.6 ALROY DOWNS

Approximately 35 Aborigines were living at a camp about a kilometre or two south of Alroy Downs homestead. A few were originally from that country, most were from Warumungu country and a few were from Camoweal and Tennant Creek.

The only vernacular found was Warumungu, which seemed to be fairly well known by adults. The children were observed to speak Pidgin with possibly a few vernacular words thrown in.

The language observed to be the most used was Pidgin. Roper Kriol was fairly well understood.

2.7 ROCKHAMPTON DOWNS

Aproximately 100 Aborigines were living in the two camps, each about 1 km from the homestead. There is a two-teacher school at the homestead.

The vernacular spoken was Warumungu, and all adults had at least a passive knowledge of it. Adults were observed to speak mostly the vernacular among themselves, while children and teenagers were observed to use mostly Pidgin. It was reported that some children knew only a few words of the vernacular, while others knew more. A few were said to be able to read and write Warumungu. One young Warumungu woman, Doreen Noonan, has compiled a Warumungu dictionary in spelling devised by a teacher who was there in 1974.

Pidgin was observed to be used about as much as Warumungu, but by younger people or by older people talking to younger people. One old man explained that the parents speak Pidgin to the children until they get 'a bit grown up' in order to help them get on in the European's world, and that later on they learn the vernacular.

Roper Kriol was well understood.

Two Questionnaire respondents expressed the desire for Warumungu to be taught in the school, while a third wanted just English.

2.8 BANKA BANKA

Aproximately 50 Aborigines were living on what appeared to be an excision, about 2 km south of the station homestead at Banka Banka. There is a school at the homestead.

The vernaculars spoken were Warumungu, and to a lesser extent Warlmanpa. It appears that these two groups are well mixed, as many adults can speak both languages.

They also spoke Pidgin, and used it more in communication with each other than either vernacular. They said that they used both Pidgin and vernacular in speaking to their children, that pre-school children know only the vernacular and learn English as they progress at school, and that school age children use both Pidgin and the vernacular. I was not always able to establish which vernacular was referred to in the above statements. I only observed children using Pidgin with each other, and a more standard form of English in responding to Europeans.

Roper Kriol was well understood by adult men and moderately understood by more sophisticated young women, (assistant school teachers and a health worker).

2.9 TENNANT CREEK

Several hundred Aborigines were living around Tennant Creek, at various locations, divided primarily according to tribal affiliation, although there was interaction amongst all the groups to various degrees. All children appeared to be attending school.

In the street I observed that they used mostly Pidgin with each other, though vernacular was also heard. Younger Aborigines seemed to respond to Europeans in fairly standard English.

Each respondent to the questionnaire indicated the desire to see his own language taught in the school.

Details of the individual camps are as follows:

2.9.1 MULGA CAMP

Approximately 70 Warumunga people were living at Mulga camp on the northern edge of the town. Some had lived at the Philip Creek settlement in the 1940's and were moved to Ali-Curung (Warrabri) when it was established, but have since returned to Tennant Creek.

The Warumunga vernacular was claimed, by a woman who was obviously keen for its survival, to be understood by all. She said that the adults speak it and that children speak it 'a bit'. I observed that she used English and Pidgin in speaking to children and young adults. I heard some vernacular and some Pidgin in conversations between adults, and mostly Pidgin used by the children. Their pronunciation of English/Pidgin words, however, was usually a long way removed from the standard English pronunciations.

Roper Kriol was well understood.

2.9.2 BLUEBERRY HILL CAMP

Approximately 15 Aborigines, predominately Warlmanpa, were living in scattered huts near Blueberry Hill on the western side of the town.

The main vernacular represented was Warlmanpa, but Warlpiri, Warumungu and Garawa were also found there. A few other Barkly languages were also claimed to be spoken as second languages. Almost all conversation observed, however, was in Pidgin.

Roper Kriol was fairly well understood, and one man wanted to tape my reading of it to play later to his friends.

2.9.3 THE VILLAGE, LONGHOUSE AND NEARBY CAMPS

Approximately 40 Warlpiri people were living in a circle of houses on a street at the southern end of the town, known as the 'village', or in a nearby long shed without walls, known as the 'longhouse', or in nearby camps to the south of this, extending eastwards to the Stuart Highway.

They said that their vernacular was the Warrabri dialect of Warlpiri, though other Warlpiri people from Yuendumu or Lajamanu (Hooker Creek) camp in that area when they visit Tennant Creek. People in their 50's or older used vernacular among themselves, and a mixture of vernacular and English when talking to young men in their 20's. The latter responded in Pidgin, which was understood by the older people. They said that those who had been to school, including those still at school, understand some Warlpiri but mainly speak 'European' (i.e. Pidgin). Children who have recently come from Ali-Curung (Warrabri) speak some Warlpiri words.

Roper Kriol was fairly well understood.

2.9.4 DUMP CAMP

Approximately 20 Warlpiri people were living in scattered huts near the rubbish dump at the southwest corner of the town.

They said their vernacular was the Warrabri dialect of Warlpiri and indicated this was different from that of Yuendumu or Lajamanu (Hooker Creek). They said their children do not speak Warlpiri, or at best a few words only, but rather speak Pidgin. I observed the adults using mostly Pidgin but also some vernacular among themselves. (The children of the camp were apparently away at school as none were to be seen at the time of my visit.)

Roper Kriol was fairly well understood.

2.9.5 KARGURA SCHOOL CAMP

Approximately 100 Alyawarra people were living in a couple of groups of huts at the southeast corner of the town, near the Kargura school.

The vernacular spoken was Alyawarra, which, in contrast to the other camps in Tennant Creek, was used for almost 100% of communication among themselves. I observed that even the children spoke mostly vernacular and only a small amount of Pidgin. However, some older people said that the children and young people use a lot of 'English', while understanding Alyawarra. I suspect their assessment is in comparison to themselves.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood.

2.9.6 STREET RESIDENCES IN TENNANT CREEK

I did not get an estimate of the number of Aborigines living at normal street addresses in the town. An officer of the Department of Community Development put it at about 112.

I visited one home in Hollis Street and spoke to several other Aborigines living at other street addresses. In general they had a better understanding of standard English than those living in the camps.

The vernaculars claimed to be spoken by these people were Warumungu and to a lesser extent Warlpiri. Intermarriage across language boundaries was evident. One young woman seemed to know Warumungu well and had been used as a language resource person for the Warumungu class mentioned above. They said their children 'heard' their parents' language but spoke only a few words. I observed them to use only English and Pidgin in speaking to their children.

Some showed an attitude toward Pidgin that I suspect reflected that of many Europeans, that it is 'rubbish English', even though they understood it and it had influenced their own English. Others were more ready to recognise its role in communication, saying that people understand it better than standard English. These latter were interested in Roper Kriol publications.

Roper Kriol was well understood.

2.10 NGURRATITYI

Approximately 25 Aborigines of this group were reported to be living about 50 to 60 km east of Tennant Creek along the Gosse River. I was not able to visit their community but spoke to a couple of their leaders in Tennant Creek, from whom the following information was obtained. I was told they had not found permanent water for their community and were therefore frequently shifting camp, so apparently they were reluctant to invite me to visit at that time.

They said that the vernacular spoken by all the community, including children, is Alyawarra. Adults use it with children and children with adults, though children also use some 'English' (which I suspect to be Pidgin) with each other. One leader I spoke with could converse with me in fairly standard English, but used Pidgin with other Aborigines who passed by in the street as we talked. He was keen to have Alyawarra literacy for his community.

Roper Kriol was not tested.

2.11 EPENARRA

About 60 Aborigines were living on an excision about 1 km from the Epenarra station homestead. I was told that there had been more when a group from Canteen Creek had moved in, but they had later moved on into Tennant Creek. There was a one-teacher school near the homestead.

The vernacular was Alyawarra, spoken at all levels in the community. Only the vernacular was observed in communication between Aborigines. I was told that children commencing school were monolingual.

Adults said they could 'hear' Anmajirra and responded to it in Alyawarra, which the Anmajirra people could similarly 'hear'. They also said they could 'hear' Aranda, Santa Theresa dialect, and to a lesser extent Warlpiri and Warumungu. English is used as a lingua franca with others.

Roper Kriol, though better understood than standard English, was nevertheless not completely understood.

Questionnaire respondents expressed a keen desire for vernacular literacy in the school.

2.12 ALI-CURUNG (WARRABRI)

Approximately 600 to 700 Aborigines were living on this government settlement.

One school teacher's estimation was that they were made up of about 55% Alyawarra, 40% Warlpiri, and the remaining 5% a mixture including Kaytej, a few Warumungu and others, some of whom had no tribal affiliation. He noted that there had been a population shift from east to west, and that four and a half years ago the composition was about 17% Alyawarra, 75% Warlpiri and the remaining 8% included more Warumungu than today.

There has been a lot of intermarriage between the different groups, resulting in Pidgin being used in the homes, which further resulted in the younger generation using it for normal communication rather than either parent's language. Both Kaytej and Warlpiri people mentioned this as a reason for the loss of their language.

2.12.1 THE ALYAWARRA

The vernacular most often heard at Ali-Curung was Alyawarra, as these people seemed to have retained their language more than the other groups. The reason for this is probably that the majority of them have been more recent arrivals at the settlement and therefore have not been affected by intermarriage to the same extent. Alyawarra children first starting school were reported to know virtually no English, whereas Warlpiri children of that age knew about as much English as vernacular.

Roper Kriol was not tested on Alyawarra people.

2.12.2 THE WARLPIRI

The older Warlpiri people used vernacular but the younger ones used mostly Pidgin in their communication with each other, though they claimed not to have forgotten the vernacular. They claimed that although their children understood Warlpiri they did not use it, but rather used 'English' (i.e. Pidgin). My observation concurred with this. I also observed that a Warlpiri woman, while giving me vernacular words, spoke to her children and to a passer-by in Pidgin.

There is a Warlpiri literacy program in the school and the Aboriginal teacher involved in it claimed that the children learned Warlpiri words more quickly than English. She was keen that they have that program and also that they learn English well.

Roper Kriol was fairly well understood by this same Aboriginal teacher, who also made the suggestion that it could be used for the first things children learn to read, and later they could read standard English. (This would be very similar to the ITA approach and would use vocabulary and grammar the children already use orally.)

2.12.3 THE KAYTEJ

Kaytej was spoken by the older members of a few families, where younger adults could give a few Kaytej words but spoke mostly Pidgin to each other. They said that the Kaytej children knew only a few words of the vernacular, using Pidgin instead.

Roper Kriol was moderately understood by the sample of Kaytej people interviewed. They claimed, 'What we speak is more really English.' They also expressed the desire for Kaytej to be used in the school.

2.12.4 THE WARUMUNGU

The Warumungu language situation at this settlement was about the same as that of Kaytej indicated above. Circumstances prevented me getting precise data on it.

2.13 IMANGARA (MURRAY DOWNS)

Approximately 60 Aborigines live on an excision about 1 km away from the Murray Downs homestead. There is a school near the homestead.

The vernacular was Alyawarra, which was spoken by everyone at all levels of the community. Some people said they also understood Aranda, and a few Kaytej. (A few Kaytej people have married into the community.) Some young adults, who have been to school, could speak fairly standard English, and the children currently at school less so. One of the leading men responded to me in Pidgin, but I did not hear it in use otherwise.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood.

The respondent to the questionnaire expressed the desire for literacy in Alyawarra to be taught in the school.

2.14 TARA (NEUTRAL JUNCTION)

Approximately 50 Aborigines were living on an excision about 2 km from the Neutral Junction homestead. There is a school at the homestead. It was not a dry camp and its population had apparently decreased in recent years through liquor-related fighting, with people moving away to dry camps to avoid it. The school's enrollment had dropped from 40 to 14 in six years.

The vernacular spoken by the majority was Kaytej, with Alyawarra being spoken by a significant minority. They said they could 'hear' Aranda. The Kaytej and Alyawarra people did not all speak each other's language. I observed that adults used vernacular with each other. I did not get an opportunity to observe the children's speech first hand, but the adults said that the children speak Kaytej among themselves and with adults, and English at school. It was reported by a European that they speak a mixture of Kaytej and Pidgin.

Roper Kriol was moderately well understood.

The questionnaire respondent was keen to have Kaytej literacy in the school.

2.15 WILORA (STIRLING)

About 100 Aborigines were living on this excision about 3 km south of the Stirling homestead. It was a dry camp. There was a school at the homestead with an enrollment of over 30 children.

Both the Anmajirra and Kaytej vernaculars were spoken, with most people understanding both. There was some evidence too of Alyawarra and Warlpiri. According to the men interviewed Anmajirra predominated. They claimed that it was dialectally different from that spoken at Ti-Tree, which they said was really 'Ndelbra'.

I observed that both adults and children used the vernacular among themselves, with only occasional English or Pidgin words. The adults said that the children mix some English in with their speech. The English used with me was not Pidgin but more standard, though a little broken.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood.

Respondents to the questionnaire wanted Anmajirra literacy taught in the school.

2.16 NTURIYA (TI-TREE STATION)

Approximately 120 Aborigines were living on this Aboriginal-owned station about 20 km west of Ti-Tree township. Their children attended the school at the township.

The vernacular was Anmajirra, which was used by the whole community at all levels. They said they could 'hear' Alyawarra, and some said they could also speak Warlpiri.

The older men, those over 50, spoke to me in Pidgin, which they said they learned when they had been 'up north' droving. The younger people used more standard English for the little they said. They seemed somewhat inhibited, possibly by the limitations of their knowledge of English. They left most of the responding to the older people.

Roper Kriol was understood by the older men and only partially understood by the others.

The questionnaire respondent indicated the desire for Anmajirra literacy to be taught in the school at Ti-Tree.

2.17 TI-TREE SIX MILE CAMP (PMARA JUTUNTA)

Approximately 120 Aborigines were living on what appeared to be a second camp on Ti-Tree station, or else an excision, about 9 km (6 miles) south along the highway from Ti-Tree township. It was a dry camp. Their children went to school in Ti-Tree township.

The vernacular was Anmajirra, which was used by the whole community at all levels. The old man interviewed said that they also knew Warlpiri and could 'hear' Alyawarra, but there were no Alyawarra or Kaytej people there and only a few Warlpiri had married in.

Roper Kriol was not tested.

The old man interviewed was keen to have literacy in Anmajirra taught in the school at Ti-Tree. The school has an enrolment of 123 children, mostly Anmajirra-speaking children from this camp, Nturiya and Woola Downs. A teacher said that the children in the playground use only vernacular among themselves, and that young children starting at preschool were monolingual. So it would seem most desirable to have Anmajirra in the school, particularly as a medium of instruction for the youngest Aboriginal children.

2.18 LARRAMBA (NAPPERBY)

About 200 to 300 Aborigines were living in two camps in close proximity to each other on an excision near the Napperby homestead. There was a school at one of these camps, with an enrolment of 44.

The vernacular was Anmajirra, which was used by the whole community at all levels. There were also a few Aranda and Warlpiri speakers, and one Kaytej. The teacher said that the young children starting school were monolingual, and retained their vernacular while learning English as they progressed at school. The people said they could all 'hear' Aranda.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood. The English used with me was more standard than Kriol, though somewhat broken, and having a few Pidgin words in it.

The questionnaire respondents were keen to have Anmajirra literacy taught in the school.

2.19 MBULATWATY (HONEYMOON BORE)

Approximately 100 Aborigines live on this excision, about 6 km north of the Sandover highway, or about 9 km north of Amaroo homestead. (I was also given the name 'Arunga' for this community.) There was no school in operation, though until shortly before my visit there had been a visiting teacher coming from Utopia. The people said they were trying to get a school.

The vernacular was Alyawarra, spoken by the whole community at all levels. They said they spoke no other vernacular. The children seemed to be almost monolingual. The people said they could 'hear' Aranda Akerre, Anmajirra and Kaytej. Their English showed some Pidgin influence.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood, but better understood than standard English.

The questionnaire respondents keenly wanted Alyawarra literacy to be taught in the school they were hoping to get, and said that they had already requested this.

2.20 UTOPIA/THREE-BORE

About 250 to 300 Aborigines were living in many camps around the homestead of Utopia, an Aboriginal owned station, and at Three-Bore, which is about 6 km from the homestead, where the office and clinic were situated. There is a school at the homestead.

The main vernacular was Anmajirra, with some Alyawarra, some Warlpiri, a few Aranda Akityerre (apparently a dialect similar to Aranda Akerre) and two other Aranda families. These vernaculars were used by the whole community at all levels. I observed children in a class at the school using Anmajirra among themselves. A teacher said that they use vernacular at all times other than when English is demanded of them, and that the older people speak better English than the younger.

Anmajirra people told me that they and the Alyawarra people 'hear' each other's language but just speak their own.

No English or Pidgin was observed in the people's communication with each other, but only vernacular.

Roper Kriol was claimed to be understood at least better than standard English.

The questionnaire respondents expressed the desire for both Anmajirra and Alyawarra literacy to be taught in the school, in that order of preference.

2.21 NGGULWALYA (KURRAJONG BORE)

This is an outstation of Utopia, on the southern bank of the Sandover River, about 7 km south of Nara, about 65 km by road northeast of Utopia homestead. It is a dry camp.

Time did not permit me to be as thorough in examining this community as I was in others. The vernacular was Alyawarra, which I am reasonably certain was spoken by the whole community at all levels. I am less sure of the population but estimate it to be 50.

2.22 NARA (SOAKAGE BORE)

Approximately 120 Aborigines were living at this outstation of Utopia, about 1 km north of the Sandover highway, about 60 km by road north east of Utopia homestead. It is a dry camp. The children are taken to Utopia each day for school.

The main vernacular was Anmajirra, which some there referred to as Anmajirra Aranda, plus some Alyawarra and a few Warlpiri who had married in. They said that Anmajirra and Alyawara adults could 'hear' each other's language, but the children could not do so.

The vernacular was spoken by the whole community at all levels. They said that English was not used between parents and children nor among the children themselves.

Roper Kriol was barely understood, except for one man who said he had 'bin long that country'.

2.23 URRULTYA

About 60 Aborigines were living on what appears to be an excision from McDonald Downs station, about 24 km west of Derry Downs homestead. The people said they had moved there from McDonald Downs station. No school was observed.

The vernacular was Alyawarra, which was used by the whole community at all levels. The children seemed almost monolingual. A few English words were observed in the adults' speech, for concepts which were possibly not easily expressed in vernacular or were associated more with Europeans, such as 'road'.

Roper Kriol was not tested, due to time limitations, but the questionnaire respondent used Pidgin with me.

They indicated the desire to have Alyawarra literacy taught to the community.

2.24 DERRY DOWNS

Approximately 70 Aborigines were living in the camp about 1 km north of the Derry Downs homestead. The only Europeans living on the station were the manager and his wife. There was no school there.

The vernacular was Alyawarra, which was used by the whole community at all levels. They said that they could 'hear' Anmajirra but would reply in English. Younger people, who had been to school at Lake Nash, spoke fairly standard English, while older men's English was influenced by Pidgin.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood, but all except one understood it better than standard English.

The questionnaire respondents wanted Alyawarra literacy taught, provided no secret material would be published.

2.25 BONYA HILL (JERVOIS)

Approximately 65 Aborigines were living on a one square mile excision from Jervois station, about 20 km north of the homestead. A European couple was running a store across the creek, just outside the excision. There was no school there, although the people wanted one. Five of their children were away at school at Alice Springs. I was told of plans to start a school at Jervois mine, about 48 km away, and to bus the children there, but since my visit I have heard that the mine has closed down and most of its (European) community has left.

The vernacular was Aranda Akerre, although there was some evidence of influence of Aranda Akityerre, and possibly of another more different dialect from further east which they said was 'Narra'. The vernacular was used by the whole community at all levels. Most of the children, and even some teenagers, seemed to be monolingual. Some men said they could 'hear' Alyawarra and speak it a little bit.

One man spoke Pidgin to me, while others used more standard English, although broken.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood, but better understood than standard English.

The questionnaire respondent wanted literacy and books etc. in Aranda Akerre.

2.26 HART'S RANGE AND MT. RIDDOCK

About 60 Aborigines were living at these two places. Hart's Range is the site of a police station, about 27 km east of Mt. Riddock homestead. Many Aborigines move frequently between the two places so they are being treated here as one community. There was no school at either place. (Many people were away at Alice Springs at the time of my visit so the above population estimate could be inaccurate.)

The vernacular was Aranda Akerre, which was used by the whole community at all levels. The people used a broken form of English rather than Kriol.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood, but better understood than standard English.

The questionnaire respondents wanted Aranda Akerre literacy as well as English to be taught.

2.27 ENGAWALA (ALCOOTA)

Approximately 70 Aborigines were living on this excision about 2 km. north of Alcoota homestead. It was a dry camp, and it had no school.

(At the time of my visit the leaders were away and others were hesitant to talk with me. Most of the following information was supplied by just one young woman who appeared to be the only one with sufficient English to do so, although others may have been just too shy. The situation did not allow me to test Roper Kriol, elicit a word list or fill in a questionnaire.)

The vernaculars spoken were Eastern (Santa Theresa) Aranda and Alyawarra, about 50% of the people speaking each, plus a few Aranda Akerre speakers. Originally it was an Aranda group but others married in or otherwise joined the group. Aranda is understood by the Alyawarra people, and vice-versa. The vernaculars were used by the whole community at all levels, with the children and young adults appearing to be monolingual. No English or Pidgin was observed apart from the one person speaking to me.

2.28 OTHER PLACES

The following places visited were found to have no significant Aboriginal population, so time was not taken to attempt to collect data at them: Eva Downs, Kurundie, Waite River, Dneiper, Huckitta and Jervois stations, and the roadhouses at Renner Springs, Freweena, Wauchope, Wycliffe Well, Barrow Creek and Aileron. Nor was Ti-Tree township investigated apart from the school.

Information obtained about the following places indicated that they had no significant Aboriginal populations, so they were not visited: Ucharonidge, Mungabroom, Shandon Downs, Walhollow, Creswell Downs, Helen Springs, Brunchilly, McLaren Ck., Elkedra, Mt. Skinner, Woodgreen, McDonald Downs, Lucy Creek, Bushy Park and Yambah stations, and the various non-pastoral establishments (i.e. roadhouses, mines, etc.) in the area other than those listed above.

The following places were reported to have Aboriginal populations but were not visited for economy reasons and because of the amount of information obtained about them from other Aborigines, which is as follows:

2.28.1 BEETALOO

Beetaloo has approximately 18 Aborigines who belong to the Jingulu and Mudbura tribes. The language situation is basically the same as that described above for Jingulu and Mudbura people at Newcastle Waters (2.1) and Elliott (2.2).

2.28.2 WOOLA DOWNS

Woola Downs is an Aboriginal-owned station having approximately 50 people, all of whom speak Anmajirra. The language situation is basically the same as that for Anmajirra people at the two Ti-Tree locations (2.16 and 2.17).

2.28.3 ANNINGIE

Anningie has a number of people whose mother tongue is Anmajirra, and also some whose mother tongue is Warlpiri.

3. CONCLUSIONS

3.1 NORTHERN HALF

A form of Pidgin has become, or is becoming, creolised in the Barkly Tableland. This is the language used for most everyday communication in the area surveyed, from Ali-Curung northwards, with the exception of the Alyawarra speaking communities at Ali-Curung, Epenarra and the Kargura School camp at Tennant Creek. It is the lingua franca of the remaining speakers of vernaculars in this northern half, and also of some vernacular speakers in the southern half.

Any serious attempts at communication with the Aborigines of this northern half of the area surveyed should not ignore Pidgin as a medium. Further study of it is needed, particularly to determine its relationship to Roper Kriol, the extent to which Roper Kriol could be used in this area and the dialectal variations between the two.

3.2 SOUTHERN HALF

In the remainder of the area surveyed, that is, south of Ali-Curung but also including the Alyawarra communities listed above, Alyawarra and Anmajirra are the most important languages, and Aranda Akerre is also significant. Alyawarra and Anmajirra are not mutually intelligible although they are closely related and speakers of each would have little difficulty in learning the other, as indeed some have done. There are significant numbers of people in this area, many of whom are in the younger age bracket, who appear to be almost monolingual. That is, they have minimal knowledge of English or of any Aboriginal language other than their own.

Any serious attempt at communication with the Aborigines of this southern half of the area, apart from the most sophisticated of them, should not ignore these vernaculars as media. Recognising that linguistic research in depth is in progress in Alyawarra and Western Aranda, more research into Anmajirra is called for, as well as into Aranda Akerre.

APPENDIX I

1972 Tribal Population Figures

A survey conducted by the Welfare Branch of the Department of the Northern Territory in 1972 gives a count of the numbers of people at the different locations in the Northern Territory and their various tribal affiliations. Out of interest I quote below a summary of those relevant to the area of this survey.

However, it should be noted that these figures do not show the numbers of speakers of the tribal languages but rather the numbers who had those tribal affiliations, as determined by their patrilineal ancestry. Therefore they are at varience with the concerns of this survey in two respects:

1. Persons whose fathers had left one tribe and married into another were counted as being of the former tribe, although they now regard themselves as belonging to the latter and speak the latter's language.

2. Persons who have ceased to speak any tribal vernacular but instead use English or Pidgin were counted as belonging to one of the tribes.

Section of this Report	Language	Number of People	
1.2	Anmajirra	839	
1.3	Alyawarra	746	
1.4	Aranda	2110	(Total of all Aranda groups. No separate figure for Aranda Akerre.)
1.5	Warumungu	463	
1.6	Warlpiri	2712	(Total of all Warlpiri.)
1.7	Kaytej	380	
1.8	Mudbura	280	
1.9	Warlmanpa	36	
1.10	Jingulu	179	
1.11	Wampaya	110	
1.12	Kutanji	80	
1.13	Wagaya	791	

APPENDIX II

My Word List

- dog
- ground
- fire
- ashes
- stone
- sky
- tree
- grass (generic)
- dry grass
- green grass
- food (veg.)
- meat
- water
- man
- woman
- child
- head
- hand
- foot
- eye
- nose
- mouth
- ear
- chin
- whiskers
- tongue
- elbow
- knee
- belly
- I, me
- you (s.)
- he, him
- we (dual incl.)

APPENDIX III

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN CENTRAL NORTHERN TERRITORY SURVEY APRIL-MAY, 1982.

Name of Community....................

	male	female
aged	......	......
middle-aged	......	......
adult	......	......
young adult	......	......
teenager	......	......
child	......	......

1. What divisions did you notice in the language group concerning living arrangements? Do they live in:
   a. one tight-knit group ....
   b. inter-related communities (caused by geographical distance) ....
   c. several groups within the community ....

2. Do the people in a given locality live:
   a. in a mixed group ....
   b. in separate groups divided according to language...
   c. integrated with Europeans ....

3. What are the reasons for the situation described above (last two questions)? Is the division in the tribe determined by:
   a. place of employment ....
   b. prestige of one group ....
   c. dialect difference or language difference ....
   d. tribal origin ....
   e. caste ....

Points to Watch

1. In many situations a direct question-answer method will not be possible but questions will need some discussion. Don't rush the interview—better to conduct a few with people who have thought through the issues than a lot answered in a hurry.

2. Take care not to imply that programmes discussed are being promised to the community. It may be wise to make a negative statement to clarify this.

3. Items 1 through 4 and 20 are to be completed from the interviewer's observations. Reasons for this: It can be an embarrassment to ask a person to give his name and most will not know their age. Some of the questions require content answers, for these a space is left. Others give several options. For the latter type, circle the letter(s) corresponding to the answer(s) given by the respondent.

Interviewer's Name .... Date ....
Items 1 - 4 to be answered by interviewer

1. Name (if known without elicitation) ....

2. Sex
   a. male
   b. female

3. Approximate age
   a. school age
   b. teenager (16-19 years)
   c. young adult (20-30 years)
   d. adult (30-50 years)
   e. middle-aged (50-65 years)
   f. aged (65 and over)

4. Ethnicity
   a. full Aborigine
   b. part Aborigine
   c. European
   d. other

****

5. Employment status
   a. employed as ....
   b. unemployed

6. i. Place of living now (community name or street name)
   ....
   ii. Place of birth (give name if offered)
   a. town ....
   b. station ....
   c. bush

7. i. What languages are spoken in this community
   ....
   ....
   ....

ii. How many speak each language? (Tick the appropriate space)

Languages	very many	many	few
....			
....			
....			
....			

8. i. What was your father's language? ....

ii. What was your mother's language? ....

iii. Which language(s) do you speak now? ....
....
....

iv. Which language(s) do you understand but not speak?
....
....
....

v. Which do you consider your own language?............

vi. Which language(s) do your children speak? ....
....
....

vii. Which language(s) do your children understand but not speak? ....
....
....

9. (To be answered only by those who claim a language other than English in Item 8.iii)

i. Can you read your own language? a. yes
b. no

ii. If yes, where did you learn? ....
Who has produced reading materials? ....
If no, has anyone written your language?
- a. yes Who? ....
- b. no
- c. not sure

Would you like your language to be written?
- a. yes
- b. no
- c. not sure

10. i. Do you use English when speaking with
- a. Europeans
- b. spouse(s)
- c. Aboriginal adults of your language group
- d. Aboriginal adults of different lang. groups
- e. children
- f. no one

If c. or d. is selected, go on to ii.

ii. Do you use English with fellow adult Aborigines
- a. at same sex gatherings
- b. at business meetings
- c. at corroborees
- d. in company with Europeans
- e. with close relatives
- f. other

11. i. Can you read English? a. yes
b. no

If yes, go on to ii, iii, iv, v.

ii. What can you read and understand?
- a. letters
- b. comics
- c. newspaper
- d. books — novels
- e. Bible
- f. other

iii. Have you ever read a book right through? a. yes
b. no

iv. Where did you learn to read? a. school
b. other (specify)

12. i. Do the children in this community speak English?
- a. a creole or pidgin
- b. Aboriginal English
- c. standard English
- d. something between b. and c.

ii. Is the children's language different from that of adults? a. yes
b. no
c. a little

13. i. Do the children in this community speak their parents' language? a. yes
b. no
c. some do

ii. If yes, how well? a. some words only
b. whenever they speak to parents
c. when speaking to other children

14. i. What language(s) should the children be taught at school?
   a. English
   b. an Aboriginal language
   c. both

ii. If b. or c. which Aboriginal language should it be? (List in order of preference if more than one.)
....
....
....

15. What is the value of learning English?
for you ....
for your children ....

16. i. What is the main language spoken in this area?
....

ii. What do you think will be the main language when the children of today are adults? ....

17. i. Would you like educational programmes set up in this community?
   a. yes
   b. no
   c. not interested

ii. If yes, what types?
   a. literacy in Aboriginal language(s)
   b. literacy in English
   c. oral English
   d. Aboriginal culture for Aboriginal children
   e. Aboriginal culture for European children
   f. European culture for Aboriginal children
   g. other

iii. Would you attend relevant adult classes
   a. once daily
   b. twice weekly
   c. once weekly
   d. when you feel like it
   e. not at all

18. If someone was to begin a programme in an Aboriginal language, which language should be used?
....
....
....

19. i. What materials would you like to have written in this language?
    - a. newspaper
    - b. stories about the way life was in the bush
    - c. stories from the Dreamtime
    - d. comics
    - e. stories about European life style
    - f. books about how to get along in the city
    - g. books about money, etc.
    - h. the Bible
    - i. other (specify)

    ii. Who would use these materials?
    - a. children
    - b. men
    - c. women
    - d. old people
    - e. Europeans
    - f. other (specify)

END OF QUESTIONS TO INTERVIEWEE

20. Interviewer's assessment of language usage.
What language did the respondent use during the interview? ....

If English, was it a. pidgin
b. variety of standard English

If b. what is your impression of his/her fluency?
- a. equal to native speaker
- b. able to express anything required for the interview with little difficulty
- c. able to express most things required for the interview but with hesitation and self-correction
- d. spoke it with difficulty but understood questions
- e. spoke it with difficulty and only partly understood questions
- f. used only a few words

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OBSERVATIONS ON LANGUAGE CHANGE AT HOPE VALE

Noreen Pym

0. INTRODUCTION

The traditional language at Hope Vale has been documented by John Haviland in his article, Guugu Yimidhirr in *Handbook of Australian Languages*. Today this language is spoken only by the elderly. The younger people speak a mixture of Guugu Yimidhirr and English. This paper attempts to give some of the reasons for this language shift and to describe some of the changes taking place. It is written for the people at Hope Vale.

The non-traditional material used in this paper was obtained during a visit to Hope Vale in August to November, 1983. The language was collected during the last two weeks of that period from two women who gave some sentences on condition they were not identified. In order to respect their desire to remain unidentified, I have named one woman A, the other B.

Before asking the women for language, I chose as a control two hundred sentences from John Haviland's article, rather than try to elicit traditional language for myself. Using his analysis I chose sentences which would give an overview of the grammar of the language, moving from simple to complex structures. I had hoped to collect 400 sentences (200 from A, 200 from B). However, when I began working with the women it soon became apparent that they reverted to English for anything except simple sentences. The final result was a total of 187 sentences (95 from A, 92 from B) which ranged from complete Guugu Yimidhirr (110 sentences) through various mixtures of Guugu Yimidhirr and English (66 sentences) to complete English (11 sentences). When both women gave sentences completely in English, these sentences were not included.

1. HISTORY

The Guugu Yimidhirr, also known as the Cooktown tribe, are the descendants of the people Captain Cook met in 1770. Earlier there were two main language dialects, coastal and inland. The older people can still distinguish these, as well as give a few words of some of the lesser dialects, but the language in general use is a mixture of the two dialects, with the larger component being coastal. This is largely because the Lutheran Mission settled with the coastal group and their dialect was used and given prestige.

The Mission began in 1886 when a Lutheran pastor on his way to New Guinea spent some time in Cooktown working with the local Aborigines. After his departure a young German, Pastor Schwartz, was sent to begin work with the Aborigines. He set up a mission station at a place he named Hope Valley, on the coast about 25 km north of Cooktown in 1887. He later married an Australian and continued to work with the people, except for a period during World War II, until his death in 1959. Most of the older people now living at Hope Vale were brought up and went to school at Hope Valley. Schooling was in English but the use of the language out of school hours was encouraged. The result was a group of people who spoke both their own language and good English. Most of the older people at Hope Vale speak excellent English.

During World War II the people were moved by the Australian Government, as part of security precautions, to Woorabinda, in the mountains about 170 km west of Rockhampton. This took them away from their own land to a colder, wetter climate than what they were used to. Many people died of pneumonia and it was a miserable time for all. By the time they were permitted to return to their own country there were very few of the older generation still living. After their return, at the end of the war, the mission site was transferred from the isolation of Hope Valley to an inland site about 25 km away, which was named Hope Vale. The aim was to begin farming on the better land with plenty of water. It also made for easier access to Cooktown, 50 km away. It is difficult to assess how much language and culture were lost during the time at Woorabinda, but undoubtedly the period spent there was detrimental to the people. Today it is looked back on as a time of real hardship.

In the period immediately before the arrival of Pastor Schwartz, the people had been affected by the Palmer River gold rush which occurred in the mid 19th Century. The main port for the gold diggers was Cooktown and they swarmed ashore in their thousands. The story of the gold rush is a story of violence and murder and the Guugu Yimidhirr were caught in the middle. Whilst many were murdered by the diggers, the gold rush did not have the effect on language and culture that the subsequent introduction of English and European culture was to have. With the coming of Europeans (missionaries and others) to live amongst them came the introduction of ideas and philosophies that were to result in the tremendous changes which have taken place in the life and language of the people.

2. PRESENT SITUATION

Today the Guugu Yimidhirr live in a town with a population of about 700. It is a pleasant town, with wide streets and well built houses situated on large blocks of land. The houses are surrounded by fences and have gardens with trees and flowering shrubs. In many ways the town resembles a small country town in rural Australia with the usual services of shop, post office, etc. There is an old people's home and a hospital with a doctor who comes out each week from Cooktown. The town uses state electricity, houses have septic tanks and the local council provides a regular garbage collection and services the water reticulation system.

The life style of the people is very similar to that of other Australians. The women delight in cooking and craft work. Cake stalls, macrame and rug making are means of raising money for both charity and personal use. The men are employed in a variety of occupations although there is a lot of unemployment because there are fewer jobs than people.

For recreation, people watch videos, ride horses, go out in their vehicles to a variety of places, including the beach which is a favourite place for holidays. The beach is about 25 km from Hope Vale and many families have permanent beach houses, ranging from wood and iron sheds to fibro and timber houses, where they spend their holidays. An added attraction at the beach is that TV reception is excellent while it is very poor in Hope Vale itself.

There is a Lutheran Church, with a full time pastor, which provides all the services to be found in a church in any town. One of the social problems of the town is alcoholism and the Church provides a rehabilitation centre for alcoholics and arranges training for those interested in helping in such work.

The school is a government school with all teaching in English. At present classes go up to Grade 8 and children who wish to continue their education beyond this level have to go to school in another town, either by boarding with a family or attending boarding school.

3. CHANGES IN CULTURE AND LIFE STYLE

The people of Hope Vale have changed from being a hunter-gatherer traditional Aboriginal culture to being a settled European-style culture. Over the years there has been a gradual accommodation to the European way of life with a consequent loss of Aboriginal life style. Employment and buying of goods in shops have replaced the traditional hunting until today no one uses a spear even for fishing, and European tools and skills have replaced Aboriginal tools and skills. No longer is a meal cooked on an open fire. Now an electric stove is used. The telling of traditional stories to children has been replaced by the watching of videos and films. The traditional art forms, dancing, songs and painting, are known only by the elderly and the young are not interested. Their interest is in modern forms of art as expressed on the TV screen and in films. The traditional kinship system is largely gone and traditional marriage rules and mourning rites are no longer followed. Alcoholism, unknown in traditional life, is a major social problem.

4. EFFECTS UPON LANGUAGE USE

The major result of the changes in life style is that the young people are no longer acquiring the traditional language. The language is dying, not because it is becoming less capable of expressing the people's need for communication, but because people are using it in fewer and fewer situations. Traditional language in all its fullness is now only spoken by the elderly to each other. Less traditional forms of the language and a mixture of Guugu Yimidhirr and English are spoken only in some homes and between some people, mainly in social situations. Outside the home and in formal situations the universal language is English. Education, employment, recreational activites of watching TV, listening to radio and socialising with outsiders all demand English. Constant exposure to English is improving the ability to understand it as well as lessening the need for any other language. If a language is not seen as necessary it will not be used. For today's young people the language with prestige is English. Whilst traditional Guugu Yimidhirr has not yet disappeared the areas of use have narrowed considerably and changes are taking place in the Guugu Yimidhirr which is being used.

The three main areas of language, the vocabulary, the sound system, and the structure of the language (grammar), have all been affected and each in the same three ways: some parts have been retained, some parts are changing, and some parts have been lost.

4.1 VOCABULARY

The vocabulary in use today is no longer as extensive as that of the traditional language. English is taking over in some areas.

Retention. Guugu Yimidhirr words which were always used in the sentences collected are: *dyindal* 'bite', *biini* 'die', *gudaa* 'dog', *mayi* 'food', *yarraman* 'horse', *bayan* 'house', *wanhdharra* 'how?', *dingga* 'hungry', *gaga* 'sick', *galga* 'spear', *wawu* 'want', and *walaa* 'watch out!'. The 'having' marker, *dhirr*, is in regular use and is used with both Guugu Yimidhirr words and English words.

Nulu	*galga-dhirr*	'He has a spear.'
he	spear-having	
Nulu	money-*dhirr*	'He has money.'
he	money-having	

Change. Some Guugu Yimidhirr words seem to be used interchangeably with the English words having the same meanings. It is as if the vocabulary system is changing to include both the Guugu Yimidhirr word and the English word for a particular idea or thing. The sentences collected contained:

Guugu Yimidhirr	*dhadara*	and English	'go'
	gadara		'come'
	biiba, baba		'father'
	gundal		'hit', 'kill'
	nambal		'money'
	gaari, garu		'no', 'not'
	dharrba		'snake'
	yirrgal		'talk'
	yii		'this'.

Another change which is taking place is that some words are being shortened, e.g. *gambagamba* 'old woman' is now *gamba*.

Loss. There are different types of loss which have taken place. The most obvious is that of loss of a vocabulary item because that item is no longer part of the culture. Neither woman knew any words for 'yam', an essential item of diet in the traditional life style, but no longer needed as the women no longer go out in the bush looking for yams; instead they buy vegetables at the store. The word for 'stingray' was not known and one woman said she did not even use the English word but would merely point to the object on the ground. This could indicate that stingrays are no longer an item of diet, except perhaps among the elderly.

Other words have been lost because the English words are more specific and are used in their stead. Examples are: numbers, and time words such as 'today', 'morning' and 'night'.

Some words may have been lost because they are considered too hard to say and the English term is much easier, e.g. *dyiirraayng* 'old man'.

Other words which appear to have been lost are words for compass directions and words in common usage such as 'beach', 'road' and 'shade'. It seems that the English word is preferred for these.

One interesting loss is the word for 'meat' which in the traditional language was used to distinguish edible animals from inedible and meat from vegetable food. This word is no longer used. The word for vegetable food, *mayi*, is now used for both categories, i.e. *mayi* now means 'food, both meat and vegetable'. However, it is not used before other words to show that these words represent food.

It appears that some words have become frozen in their usage and have been retained whereas others have been lost or are now used in free interchange with the English equivalent. One suggestion is that words which have been retained may have been the words which the missionaries and other Europeans learned and carried across into their English speech as a way of building a bridge between them and the Guugu Yimidhirr people.

We'll go after we finish *mayi*.
food
'We'll go after we finish eating.'

Nulu put that *ganggal* on the *nambal*
she child rock
'She put that child on the rock.'

But there does not seem to be any adequate reason why the Guugu Yimidhirr word for 'house' should be used when the English words are used for 'beach', 'road' and 'shade'.

4.2 SOUND SYSTEM

Many of the sounds in Guugu Yimidhirr are the same as the sounds in English. However, there is some change taking place in the sounds which are not the same as English, and also in the long vowels.

Retention. As well as all the sounds which are the same as English sounds, the Guugu Yimidhirr hard 'r' sound, usually written *rr*, (also called a flapped 'r') is still used, e.g. *yarrga* 'boy', *wanhdharra* 'how?'.

The 'dh' sound (see also Change below) is regularly retained in the verb 'go', *dhadaa*, in the 'having' suffix, *dhirr*, in the word for 'child', *bidha*, and in the 'how?' and 'where?' words which all begin *wanhdha-*.

In traditional Guugu Yimidhirr there were six vowels, 'a', 'i', 'u', and the long vowels, usually written 'aa', 'ii', and 'uu'. Some words were distinguished by the length of the vowel, e.g. *bula* 'they two' but *buula* 'dry'. Usually the first syllable of a word was stressed, e.g. *'bula*, but if there was a long vowel, then the syllable with the long vowel was stressed, e.g. *ga'daa* 'dog'. In the sentences collected some words retained their long vowels.

gadaa	'dog'	*walaa*	'watch out!'
dabaar	'good'	*biiba*	'father'
yii	'this'	*binaal*	'know'
gabiirr	'girl'	*biini*	'died' (There was some confusion as to which syllable should be lengthened, and *binii* was also given.)

Notice that in most of these words the stress is on the second, i.e. the long syllable, which is not the usual pattern, and this may be why the long vowel has been retained.

Change. In Guugu Yimidhirr there are some sounds which do not occur in English. Of these, the hard 'r' sound, usually written 'rr',(flapped r) is being retained, but the tongue in teeth sounds, usually written 'dh' and 'nh', (interdentals) and the 'y'sounds, usually written 'dy' or 'j' and 'ny', (palatals) are being replaced by the English 'd' and 'n', which are also part of the Guugu Yimidhirr sound system. This change is most noticable with the 'n' sounds and in the pronouns. It is more consistent at the beginning of words.

The traditional word	*nyulu*	'he, she'	has become	*nulu*
	nyundu	'you'		*nundu*
	nhanu	'your'		*nanu*
	nganhi	'me'		*ngani*
	nhila	'now'		*nila*
	nhaadhi	'saw'		*nadi*

But *wanhunbi* 'who?' is still *wanhunbi*.

The change in the 'd' sounds is not so consistent and there is more alternation between the two sounds. This was also noted by John Haviland earlier in the speech of traditional speakers, especially at the beginning of words.

dyindal	'bite'	is now	*dindal*	or	*dyindal*
dhana	'they'		*dana*		*dhana*
dyaarba	'snake'		*darrba*		*dharrba*

Uncertainty about the 'dh' sound is shown in the verb 'eat'. Traditionally it was *budal*; today it is *budhal*, the 'd' being replaced by 'dh'.

Loss. In traditional Guugu Yimidhirr some words had the final vowel lengthened when an ending was added.

yugu	'wood'	became	*yuguungu*	'for wood'
nambal	'rock'		*nambaalbi*	'on the rock'
balgal	'make'		*balgaalga*	'making'.

At the same time the stress shifted from the first and alternate syllables of the word to the syllable with the lengthened vowel.

'nambal 'rock' became *nam'baalbi* 'on the rock'.

In the sentences collected these vowels were not lengthened and the stress remained on the first syllable.

'nambalbi 'on the rock'

A similar loss of length with a corresponding shift in stress occurred regularly in the verbs 'go' and 'come'. The traditional forms *dha'daara* 'going' and *ga'daara* 'coming' were replaced by *'dhadara* and *'gadara*.

As well as loss of length there was also loss of syllables in some words.

dyindayigu	'expect to bite'	became	*dyindu*
dagaadhinhu	'to sit self'		*dagadnu*
budala	'eat!'		*budla*

There are not enough examples to draw any conclusions as to the reasons for such loss.

4.3 STRUCTURE OF THE LANGUAGE (GRAMMAR)

The influence of English grammar can be seen in some of the change and loss which is occurring in the Guugu Yimidhirr now being spoken. The structure of simple sentences is being retained but some of the other structure is becoming more like English structure.

Retention. Simple sentences still have the traditional Guugu Yimidhirr form.

Ngadhu biiba gaday.
my father came
'My father came.'

Yii galga wanhunbi?
this spear whose
'Whose spear is this?'

Where there is a mixture of Guugu Yimidhirr and English there is a tendency for the first word or two to be in Guugu Yimidhirr.

Garrbila you might break it!
hold!
'Hold it, you might break it!'

Manaa before he goes!
get!
'Grab (him) before he goes!'

Nayin nulu made me fall.
that she
'She made me fall.'

Change. There is a tendency for a pronoun to replace a word representing a person at the beginning of a sentence. This was more noticeable in the speech of B than A.

Nhayun gabiirr walu dabaar budhuungu. (Traditional)
that girl face good very,very
'That girl is very pretty.'

was given as *Yarra nulu warra dabaar* (A)
that she very good
'That one is very good.'

and *Nulu walu dabaar* (B)
she face good
'She is pretty.'

Gudaa ngaanhdhuwi biini. (Traditional)
dog woman died'
'The woman's dog died.'

was given as *Nhangu gudaa binii* (B)
her dog died
'Her dog died.'

In traditional Guugu Yimidhirr there were three main classes of verbs, these classes being based on the Present/Future form of the verb. They were: those ending in *l*, those ending in *rr*, and those ending in a vowel. As well there were two small classes of irregular verbs. Most of the verbs belong to the *l* class, with the *rr* class being the next largest. Haviland noticed that there were some verbs which appeared to be changing their class, e.g. *yirrgaa* 'speak' (vowel class) was beginning to act as if it were *yirrgal* (*l* class). This tendency is shown in the sentences collected. The *rr* class verb, *yidharr* should have as its continuing action form, *yidharrin*, but instead the form *yidhara* was given. This appears to be a shortening of *yidhaara* the form expected if *yidharr* was changing its class to vowel class. Based on this very limited collection of language, it appears that *rr* class verbs are shifting to vowel class verbs and that vowel class verbs are shifting to *l* class, and that ultimately all verbs will take the endings of the *l* class.

The form of the verb which gives the idea of continuing action, i.e. 'going', has been simplified by omission. The long vowel and its following consonant in the middle syllable have been lost.

bagaargal	'digging'	is now	*bagagal*
baadhiildhil	'crying'		*badhidil*

Also the ending *'ay'* is often shortened to *'i'*, as noted by John Haviland in the speech of younger people.

wunaarnay	'lying'	is now	*wunani*
yirrgaalgay	'talking'		*yirrgagi*

The difference between the verb form Present/Future and the Continuous Present/Future has almost gone. The women between them gave the expected Present/Future form only three times, but gave the Continuous Present/Future form instead of the Present/Future form eleven times and the English continuous form five times.

In traditional Guugu Yimidhirr there were varying forms of some of the endings. The ending which meant 'to, for' or 'belonging to' had two forms; *bi* after a consonant and *wi* after a vowel. The form *bi* is now being used for both.

Yarrgabi biiba
boy's father
'The boy's father'

shade-*bi*
shade-in
'in the shade'

The form *wi* can still be used after a vowel.

ngaanduwi gudaa
woman's dog
'the woman's dog'

As the old forms cease to be used some new forms are appearing. In traditional Guugu Yimidhirr the possessive marker, *bi*, was not used with body parts, but English does use a possessive marker here.

yarrga mangal (Traditional)
boy hand
'the boy's hand'

has become *yarrgawi mangal*
boy's hand
'the boy's hand'

The ending which marks 'to', 'at', 'in' is now being used in places where it was not used traditionally but where English would use it.

bayan muguunh (Traditional)
house back-up
'on top of the house'

has become *mugun bayanbi*
back-up house-on
'on top of the house'

Ngayu dhadaa Gan.gaarr. (Traditional)
I will go Cooktown
'I'll go to Cooktown.'

has become Cooktown*bi dhadara.*
Cooktown to going
'I'm going to Cooktown.'

Loss. There are some case endings which are no longer in use. These were the less common ones. The women either used English or a different construction to express the same idea. The 'not having' ending was not known; instead the women both used a negative with the 'having' ending.

Nyulu dingga-mul. (Traditional)
he hunger-not having
'He's not hungry.'

has become *Nulu ga dingga-dhirr.* (A)
he not hunger-having
'He's not hungry.'

and No he's not *dingga-dhirr.* (B)
hunger-having
'No, he's not hungry.'

There are also instances of endings which mark the doer of an action being omitted. This is probably the influence of English which does not use these endings.

Guda-garr yarrga dyinday. (Traditional)
dog-doer boy bit
'The dog bit the boy.'

has become *Gudaa dinday bidha.*
dog bit boy
'The dog bit the boy.'

In traditional Guugu Yimidhirr the case markings occurred on the last word in the phrase and also on any pronoun in the phrase. This meant that where there was a possessed noun, e.g. 'the boy's father', then the possessing noun would have two case markers, one for the possession and one for the case of the whole phrase. This double case marking is no longer used, making the phrases more similar to English phrases, and the pronouns more similar to English pronouns.

Biiba yarrga-wi-mun (Traditional)
father boy-poss-actor
'The boy's father (hit the dog).'

was given as *yarrga-bi biiba*
boy-poss father
'The boy's father'

biiba ngadhu-umi (Traditional)
father my-to
'belonging to my father'

was given as	*ngadhu biiba-bi* my father-to 'belonging to my father'	(A)
and	*baba-bi* father-to 'belonging to father'	(B)

Some meanings are being combined into one form. There was a form for 'on top of', *nh*, and a form for 'towards', *ga*. These today are now both included in the general form used for 'at' or 'in' or 'on', *bi*.

Some imperative forms are losing their final imperative ending. This may be because the English imperative does not have a different form. e.g. *garrba* 'hold it!' instead of *garrbala*.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The section, EFFECTS UPON LANGUAGE USE, shows that in the sentences collected from the two women we have a typical example of language change which will, unless halted, lead to the death of the language. Guugu Yimidhirr is in grave danger of disappearing completely. The effects discussed in this paper are the same type of effects seen in other languages which are dying. The editors of the book, *Language Death*, say, in the Introduction, that such effects are signs of a dying language, and that the changes themselves make the language die faster because the speakers think less and less of it. (see note 1)

In another article in the same book, Norman Denison says that 'there comes a point when multilingual parents no longer consider it necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low-prestige language. . ., and (there comes a point) when children are no longer motivated to acquire. . . a language which is lacking in. . . youth, modernity, technical skills, material success, education. The languages. . . (are) displaced by higher prestige languages until *there is nothing left for them. . . to be used about*.' (see note 2)

This seems to be true of Guugu Yimidhirr. A person's language is said to be a symbol of his identity—but only if he himself considers it important. It is the present speakers of Guugu Yimidhirr themselves who will decide whether the language dies out completely or whether they will determine to teach it to their children and thus allow it to live.

NOTES

1. The exact words, taken from page 9 of *Language Death*, were: 'The reduction and adaptation of linguistic structures are signs of threatening language death. But they also hasten language death, as an undermined, reduced, and alienated language may seem to its speakers less worthy of being spoken, and is thus even less likely to be preserved.'

2. The full quote, from page 21 of *Language Death*, is: 'we can say that there comes a point when multilingual parents no longer consider it necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low-prestige language variety, and when children are no longer motivated to acquire active competence in a language which is lacking in positive connotations such as youth, modernity, technical skills, material success, education. The languages at the lower end of the prestige scale retreat from ever increasing areas of their earlier functional domains, displaced by higher prestige languages, until *there is nothing left for them appropriately to be used about*. In this sense they may be said to "commit suicide".'

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